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Former allies torment Gingrich

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Bulgarian Jews honor their rescuers

A rabbi stands between two priests in Kyustendil yesterday at a memorial ceremony honoring those who saved Bulgaria's 50,000 Jews from deportation by the Nazis. In March 1943, a delegation of five Bulgarians from Kyustendil, led by the speaker of parliament Dimitar Peshev, came to Sofia to appeal against the deportations. The subsequent protest, from parliamentarians, the Orthodox Church and ordinary Bulgarians, helped King Boris III resist the German pressure.

Palestinians reject pullback

By **JON IMMANUEL** and **DAVID MAKOVSKY**

Pullback Phase I

Palestinian representatives last night rejected the scope of the planned Israeli redeployment in the West Bank, in a meeting between Foreign Minister David Levy and Palestinian Authority Secretary-General Mahmoud Abbas in Jerusalem that ended in an atmosphere of crisis.

Apart from rejecting the extent of the redeployment, the Palestinians claimed they should have been consulted before the decision was made.

The meeting was dominated by Palestinian concern over recent Israeli actions and growing calls to suspend talks until the actions are reversed.

Levy replied to Abbas's protest by saying the Palestinians should "lower (their) expectations." The disagreements during the meeting ranged from Har Homa, the extent of last week's 9 percent pullback decision, and the closing of four Palestinian offices in Jerusalem.

"There is no reason to paint everything in rosy colors," Levy told reporters after the session at a Jerusalem hotel. He said the sides have different positions "based upon different interpretations" put forward by their respective legal advisers. Foreign Ministry spokesman Aviv Shiran characterized the meeting as "not easy."

Immediately after the meeting the Palestinian representatives left for Gaza to report to PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, who returned from an overnight visit to Jordan calling the latest Israeli moves "conspiracies and tricks."

Meanwhile, the prime minister's spokesman, Shai Bazak, denied remarks by Likud MKs who said after meeting with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu that he had promised work would start at Har Homa next Sunday. "He said he deliberately did not want to name a date, except to say that it will start soon," said Bazak.

When Abbas asked for Israel to reconsider the construction on Har Homa, Levy rejected this. He noted Israel's position remains that there is nothing in the Oslo Accords which forbids Israeli construction anywhere during the interim period, let alone in Jerusalem.

Regarding the scope of the 9 percent pullback, Abbas complained the figure is way too low. Here again, Levy pointed out that the scope of the different pullbacks is to be decided by Israel alone, and is not a subject of negotiation with the Palestinians. The foreign minister cited a January letter from then secretary of state Warren Christopher to back up the point.

A third difference between the two sides related to Israel's closing of four Palestinian offices in eastern Jerusalem. While the Palestinians acknowledge that they are not permitted by Oslo to have PA offices in the city, they deny that these four offices are PA offices. US officials have questioned whether the fact the PA funds the four offices makes them official, or whether this is the kind of grant money that Israeli non-profit bodies receive as well.

The two sides did agree that talks on the final disposition of the territories would resume, as scheduled, on March 17.

Levy and Abbas head the steering committee that supervises nine parallel committees meeting on issues of substance. There has been no breakthrough by any of these panels. On the issue of safe passage between Gaza and the West Bank, the two sides

Phase I

sides have formulated a joint paper, although differences remain.

Included in yesterday's meeting on the Israeli side were: Levy, Foreign Ministry Director-General Eytan Bentsur, cabinet secretary Danny Naveh, Levy aide Ya'acov Bardugo, and OC Planning Branch Maj.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz.

On the Palestinian side were: Abbas, Palestinian negotiators Saeb Erekat and Hassan Astfour, and Gaza Preventive Security chief Mohammed Dahlan.

In Gaza yesterday, a meeting of all political groups established a joint PLO-Islamic committee to resist settlement and land expropriation, amid veiled warnings of violence. The meeting was arranged by the Islamic Committee Against Settlements, one of the four offices ordered closed in Jerusalem, and the PA.

The delegates at the three-hour meeting decided that a Higher National-Islamic Committee would

we must reassess a peace process in which Israel thinks it is above the law."

He demanded that the US treat Israel the way it used to treat South Africa and Yugoslavia. "If Israel is wrong, sanctions should be imposed. We want America to stand with us to push forward the peace process."

Abdel-Rahman, who recently called Har Homa a fireball, said again it could lead to an explosion. Yesterday, Pope John Paul II also criticized Israeli actions in Jerusalem, calling them "grave" and implying that Israel would share responsibility for the consequences.

The Arab media and Iran joined in the attack on Friday's US veto of the UN Security Council resolution on Har Homa. While Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is in Washington and his government has counselled non-violence, the opposition *Al-Wajid* newspaper said the US veto was an invitation to violence.

Can the US smooth over the gaps? Page 3



Foreign Minister David Levy (left) meets yesterday with PA chief negotiator Mahmoud Abbas in a Jerusalem hotel.

PM heads to Russia

By **STEVE RODAN** and **Jerusalem Post Staff**

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu leaves today for a 48-hour visit to Russia, marking his first trip to the country since taking office.

The visit will also mark the first meeting between Netanyahu and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Netanyahu will also hold meetings with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov, and Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov. Both Chernomyrdin and Luzhkov are considered potential successors to Yeltsin.

High on Netanyahu's agenda is expected to be the role of Russian technology in Iran's efforts to adapt an SS-4 missile, which has a range to hit Israel.

In a briefing for Russian-speaking journalists yesterday, Netanyahu said he expects to raise the problem of Islamic militancy. Representatives from eight Russian immigrant publications are accompanying Netanyahu.

In Moscow, Netanyahu will also pay a visit to the main synagogue, where he will meet members of the Jewish community. On Wednesday, Netanyahu will visit the Petersburg and the famed Teremim Museum before returning home.

Netanyahu expects a warm welcome in Moscow. Domestic troubles notwithstanding, Russian officials say they are excited over his visit and hope the prime minister will agree to a more active Russian role in the Middle East peace process.

"With this government, we have a leadership that recognizes the benefits of Israeli-Russian cooperation in many fields, including the peace process," a senior Russian diplomat said.

Diplomatic sources in Moscow say Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky's visit to Russia in January was a resounding success that clearly paved the way for Netanyahu's trip.

"Sharansky's visit opened a new era," the senior diplomat said. "His visit to his prison was necessary to show that the old Soviet Union and its policies are dead and a new relationship is possible."

Israeli-Russian trade has grown sharply in the last four years, from \$44 million in 1992 to \$350 million in 1996. Israeli exports last year accounted for \$250 million. Currently, Elbit is trying to conclude a \$60 million deal to provide medical equipment to Russia.

A more sensitive area for Netanyahu, however, will be deciding whether Israel will pursue a strategic relationship with Moscow. In 1995, the two countries signed a defense memorandum that both Israeli and Russian officials acknowledge has virtually been ignored.

Israel's goal is to promote joint ventures in defense contracts. Several projects are stuck because Moscow has blocked deals or Israeli participation in contracts for third countries, such as the upgrading of about 3,500 MiG-21 fighters sold by the former Soviet

Sources: Coalition not in danger

By **MICHAEL YUDELMAN**

There is no real danger to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's government, senior coalition sources said yesterday, following Netanyahu's meetings with "rebel" MKs from the Likud and coalition factions.

The sources said that apart from MKs Ze'ev Begin and Uzi Landau, who know they will be returned to the Knesset if there are new elections, most of the "rebel" MKs are not as confident of being reelected and will therefore prefer

Coalition Crisis

to support the government. These include Moshe Peled of Tsomet and Michael Kleiner of Gesher, who got reserved places on the Knesset list via agreements with their factions made with the Likud.

Netanyahu's steamroller tactics worked. At the end of the day, only four of the eight MKs who had threatened to vote against him

Revamped direct election law gains momentum, Page 2

in next week's no-confidence motion remained firm: Begin and Landau, and the National Religious Party's Hanan Porat and Zvi Hendel.

Netanyahu promised the

Continued on Page 2

New NRP-Shas dispute rages over... Purim costumes

Reports that one of the most popular Purim costumes this year is Shas's spiritual leader Rabbi Ovadia Yosef have become the source of a new dispute between Shas and the National Religious Party.

Shas is quite pleased at the prospect of lots of little Yosefs scurrying around the country's streets delivering food gifts to their friends, claiming this means that its leader has become a role model for the nation's youth.

But NRP director-general Zevulun Orlev yesterday called on the public, and the religious public, in particular "not to be swept up by cheap popular trends and not to dress up as Rabbi Ovadia Yosef on Purim."

Orlev explained that doing so "insults the honor of rabbis and Torah scholars and make them subjects of ridicule." He said maintaining the honor of Torah leaders is in the interest of all the religious parties and the entire religious community.

Yehuda Avidan, an aide to Shas leader Aryeh Deri, said he believes Orlev's response is the result of "jealousy and fear that people are drawn to Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, not a desire to protect his honor."

Avidan said Orlev had not come out against children dressing up as Aharon the Priest, Moses, King David, Mordechai, or other figures from the Bible or Jewish tradition.

"Such costumes evoke holiness and purity, and that's why we relate positively to the popularity of dressing up like Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, as someone to emulate. We welcome the fact that there is a greater demand for these costumes than for ninjas, Spiderman, and such," Avidan said. (Itm)

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Pullback could end by Wednesday

By ARBEH O'SULLIVAN

The IDF's next redeployment in the West Bank will put some 200,000 Palestinians under complete Palestinian control and could be completed by Wednesday, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said, during a meeting with Central Command officers yesterday.

The IDF, General Security Service and police received the details of the pullback yesterday and regional commanders immediately set to work planning it. Their main concern was consolidating the security steps

needed to be taken to implement the withdrawal. Most of these focused on security on the roads that pass near Palestinian-controlled areas.

Brigade commanders were given the maps detailing the pullout, and the army said one of its tasks was to see if more bypass roads needed to be paved.

"I think that the first phase of the redeployment which the government decided on [demonstrates] a very high level of responsibility," Mordechai told reporters following the meeting. "It doesn't harm the main security interests. It doesn't harm the main settlement interests

and I think that the residents of Judea and Samaria know that their interests were represented by the ministers and members of the Knesset and by us, who know the area and know the issues we are in charge of."

Defense ministry officials said the redeployment would involve handing over to Palestinian control areas northwest and south of Jenin, north of Ramallah, and north, south and west of Hebron. These include the Judean villages of Halhoul, Dura, Yatta and Dhahiyia in the Hebron area, and the villages of Bir Zeit, Kaba'ya and Ma'ulan in Samaria.

The Next Phase of Redeployment

The three enlarged maps show in green the parts of Area B in the Jenin, Ramallah and Hebron areas that are to be transferred to complete Palestinian control and will become Area A. In addition, Israel is redeploying in small parts of Area C throughout the West Bank, which will be transferred to Palestinian civil control and become Area B.

- A Complete Palestinian Control
- B Israeli Security Control/Palestinian Civilian Control
- C Complete Israeli Control

Computer illustration; Yulia Schetzerev

Can the US smooth over the gaps?

By DAVID MAKOVSKY

Yesterday's meeting between Foreign Minister David Levy and Palestinian top deputy Mahmoud Abbas demonstrated that Israel and the Palestinians have a growing expectations gap, and Jerusalem is relying heavily on the US to smooth over the differences.

Yasser Arafat has told visitors to Gaza that he expects the Palestinian Authority to control 80% of the West Bank by the end of the third pullback in the middle

of next year, with more territory to be yielded as Israel and the Palestinians negotiate the final disposition of the territories in talks to end by May 1999.

But several ministers believe that by the end of these final-status talks, Israel must retain at least 52% of the West Bank. This figure is based on an IDF map that defines Israel's interests in the West Bank, ranging from security to water needs.

Given this gap in expectations, it can be expected that the Palestinian will complain that every pullback is

not enough. Israel, however, is no longer trying to meet these expectations, but is trying to get Washington's approval instead.

While Netanyahu succeeded in eliciting this approval on Thursday, a US statement made clear that Washington expects future pullbacks to be larger. Netanyahu's hope is that if he meets the US test of a "credible" or reasonable pullback, the Palestinians would not dare to respond with violence. It is unclear, however, if this premise will hold over the next two years.

Mubarak to press Clinton on Har Homa

By HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is expected to urge President Bill Clinton in their meeting today to press Israel to abort the Har Homa project.

"I would like to ask the president to use his influence with the Israelis to stop this, and whenever they want to do something like this, they should coordinate with the Palestinians," Mubarak told CNN yesterday.

Clinton should "persuade the Israelis to understand the reality of the situation in the future; that this may explode the peace process in the future," he said.

Mubarak called Friday's US veto of the UN Security Council resolution on Har Homa "unfortunate." Within the Arab world, the US veto "will create much more of a feeling of injustice," he said, adding he hopes the situation will not escalate into violence in the territories.

Mubarak stated that ultimately, the issue of Jerusalem "cannot be solved in the UN." Negotiating a settlement over the territories first will create the goodwill necessary to work out an arrangement on Jerusalem with the Palestinians, he said.

"Neither the Palestinians nor the Israelis are going to lose the whole thing for one kilometer here or one kilometer there... It will not be a problem."

Asked about visiting Israel, Mubarak said he could not do so until a more "convenient time" due to the "very negative public opinion" beating he would take now in Egypt. Mubarak's meeting with Clinton is to be followed with a luncheon hosted by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. In his three days here, Mubarak is also to meet with Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of Defense William Cohen, the House and Senate Appropriations and Foreign Affairs committees, and Jewish groups.

Meanwhile, at the weekend the State Department fired another salvo at Israeli Ambassador Eliyahu Ben-Elissar for the latter's comments to Israeli reporters about the new US-Palestinian economic commission. Ben-Elissar said that US peace team coordinator Dennis Ross had conceded that Burns "overstepped his guidelines" by comparing the commission to ones the US has established with South Africa, Egypt, and Russia. Israel opposed the comparison, because the PA is not a sovereign country.

Settler leaders outraged by 'secret pullout map'

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Settler leaders are demanding an emergency meeting with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, after viewing official maps of the planned pullback in Judea and Samaria at a secret meeting with Defense Ministry officials last night.

The meeting, which included representatives of the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, was denied by the ministry. However, Mordechai's spokesman, Avi Benyahu, said council members are due to meet with OC Central Command Uzi Dayan. Attending the meeting were council chairman Pinhas Wallerstein, director Aharon Domb, Ze'ev Hever, director of Amana, and Ma'aleh Adumim Mayor Benny Kashriel.

Domb charged that the map showed five additional "brown areas that strangle the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria."

Council spokesman Yehudit Tayar said she was not at liberty to disclose their location, but stressed the council would call an emergency meeting as soon as possible.

In a stormy meeting yesterday morning, the council called for coalition MKs not to vote with the government until guarantees

regarding Judea and Samaria are implemented.

According to Arutz 7, members of the council will meet with cabinet ministers and attempt to convince them to quit the government. The radio also said the council decided upon a campaign of public demonstrations.

"We demand from the prime minister a working plan that lays out all details concerning future land concessions in the coming stages, before the government is committed," said Tayar. "We no longer want to be informed stage by stage." The council, said Tayar, also demands immediate implementation of guarantees made by Netanyahu in the past.

"The freeze in Judea and Samaria should be lifted and construction should start immediately. Work should start on the bypass roads, and what about investment in industries that was promised? Next week bulldozers should start working on Har Homa," she said.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said in radio interviews yesterday the withdrawal would be implemented within the next few days, after the IDF consults with settler leaders. Mordechai said the withdrawal "does not, in the big picture, affect their security nor their daily lives in a negative manner."

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Who's Right?

Former Allies Torment Gingrich

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE



Newt Gingrich, after meeting with the President on Capitol Hill last month.

Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

BACK in January, in what seemed at the time to be Newt Gingrich's darkest hour, the Beltway conservatives rallied round. They thought Mr. Gingrich had his faults — that he was ideologically unpredictable and turned to mush in Bill Clinton's hands. But the bold and energetic Georgian had, after all, brought them to the Promised Land, engineering Republican control of the House for the first time in 40 years, and they owed him. Besides, there was no one else to take his place.

Now, two months later, it is conservatives who are sounding the gongs against the Speaker. The man who made his reputation as a scourge of liberals and liberalism is under assault not from his left, but from his right.

Conservative critics accuse Mr. Gingrich of lack of purpose; the euphemism of the hour is "drift." But their problem with him has as much to do with ideology as with tactics. What they mean is that Mr. Gingrich is not acting like a conservative, that he has let them down.

Soft Spots

They are angry that Mr. Gingrich has lately cast himself not in the bold colors of revolution but in the pastels of compromise. They are fuming at him for making overtures toward Jesse Jackson while slighting J. C. Watts, the only black Republican in the House. They accuse him of backing away from public pledges to try to repeal Federal affirmative action programs. And while the House hasn't done much in the last two months, the things it has done have vexed conservatives: it has, for example, approved a new tax (on air travel) and released money for family-planning programs overseas (which conservatives say promote abortions).

None of this might matter if it weren't for something more basic: Conservatives never considered Mr. Gingrich a member of the movement in the first place. In his early days, he was an environmentalist (he called himself "an ecologist," to take away the sting). He never allied himself with the conservative promoters of supply-side economics. While he supported many conservative ideas (lower taxes, smaller government, opposition to abortion), he was not known as a champion of any of them. His value was his strategic vision, not his ideology.

Like many successful politicians, Mr. Gingrich has always been more pragmatic than dogmatic. But in 1994, he burst into the public consciousness as the emblem of conservatism, inexact though that label may have been. In the flush of victory there was no need to distinguish the gradations of conservatism. He was, said David Keene, chairman of the American Conservative Union, "the Messiah."

Mr. Keene was one who dared two years ago to say publicly, "Newt is not a conservative," while quickly adding, then as now, "But he has done more for conservatives than anyone of our generation."

So, when the House reprimanded Mr. Gingrich for using tax-exempt funds to promote partisan goals and for providing untrue information to Congressional investigators, conservatives stuck by him. But not because he was a kindred soul. As Jeff Hollingsworth, executive director of the conservative union, put it: "The issue was larger than Newt himself. If liberals could derail him, they could derail the revolution."

But the ethics matter took its toll, and many on Capitol Hill say it has diminished the Speaker's power.

William J. Bennett, the conservative critic, says Mr. Gingrich's own "dirty hands" have undercut his effectiveness in criticizing President Clinton's questionable campaign fund-raising. "If he's throwing interceptions," Mr. Bennett says of the Speaker, "he should sit down."

The ethics matter took its toll in another way. Conservatives like big agendas. Mr. Gingrich first appeared as St. George who would slay the liberal welfare state, the self-described "transformational figure" who saw himself as (not merely at) the hub of civilization. This appeal, said one conservative, "made his moderate history tolerable."

But his scope has diminished, too. In one of his now-rare public appearances, addressing the Conservative Political Action Conference last week, he announced this battle plan for the 105th Congress: "We're going to be pleasant."

The conservatives were horrified, and they rose to speak against him to the same crowd from the same microphone, still warm from Mr. Gingrich's soft-sell.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, decried the Republican leadership's "muddle-headed moderation" as "a self-defeating strategy that is conceived in self-doubt and leads only to paralysis."

Mona Charen, the conservative columnist, said that by making nice to Jesse Jackson, the Speaker was "sucking up to the leftist elite." She added later, "He's trying to salvage his reputation by making a gesture toward the left."

Mr. Bennett said, without mentioning Mr. Gingrich's name but referring to his backpedaling on affirmative action: "If certain Republican leaders cannot summon the courage or the will to advance so fundamental an American principle as equality before the law, then they should step aside."

Late last week Mr. Gingrich gave them something else to fret about. He is planning a trip in early April to China, at a time of deepening concern among conservatives over human-rights abuses. Gary Bauer, head of the Family Research Council, said the trip "offends one of the most loyal elements of the conservative coalition that has stood behind him — pro-family and religious conservatives."

Why are conservatives coming down so hard on the man who gave them a seat at the table?

Mona Charen said that it's a longstanding tradition. "The National Review excoriated Nixon and even Eisenhower," she said. "It's the role of the ideological types and think tanks and intellectuals to push things along. Politicians aren't usually in the vanguard."

The Lost Agenda

Still, William Kristol, editor of the conservative journal *The Weekly Standard*, said that after sticking by the Speaker, conservatives are wondering what the point was. "What was the point of defending Gingrich if you don't get aggressive, risk-taking leadership, if you're going to have a timid Speaker who doesn't take on tough issues and can't produce anything more than a boring and pedestrian agenda?" Mr. Kristol said. "He seems to be trying to rehabilitate himself personally instead of leading the conservative movement. He's not trying to be an ideological leader; he's trying to be a nice guy."

But does the disaffection of Beltway conservatives spell doom for the Speaker? Not necessarily. There is still no one ready to take his place.

"It's not fair for us to say, 'Now that you're weak, we'll get rid of you,'" Mr. Keene said. "If he has talents, and if you owe him, and if you think if he gets his arm back he's still the best pitcher in the league, then you ought to give him some time."

This suits the Republican moderates just fine.

Inconvenient Facts
In the battle for abortion's moral high ground, truth is a victim.

By Frank Bruni



Hierarchy of Health
Low social status makes people ill and crazy. No one knows why.

By Richard A. Shweder



Lotto Madness
How state lotteries thrive on public ignorance.

By James Sterngold

Beyond Empty Threats

The Quest for Teeth to Jawbone China

By DAVID E. SANGER

IN the next few days a Presidential advisory commission will drop on the White House doorstep a voluminous study of America's economic problems with Asia that focuses on the Administration's biggest foreign policy headache: finding a new way to talk to China.

No one is satisfied with the meager exchanges that pass for dialogue between the world's strongest power and its most ambitious one. Everyone agrees that Washington has to break out of the circular debate over how to influence Chinese behavior — an argument that rarely gets beyond wrangling over whether to threaten revocation of China's trading privileges with the United States because Beijing continues to imprison dissidents, ship arms around the world and steal technology, from Tokyo to Silicon Valley, for its expanding military.

The trade threat is an empty one, and the Chinese know it: The biggest losers would be the American companies that have invested billions in the world's most promising emerging market; the winners would be their Japanese and European competitors.

But some wisps of new strategy are emerging, not only from the Presidential commission but from private-sector groups that have spent the last year debating what some more creative shades of "engage-



Police closed Tiananmen Square to the public Feb. 25 while 10,000 of China's elite attended memorial rites for Deng Xiaoping.

ment" might look like.

Some are proposing strategies that would nudge China into trade accords that promote the "rule of law" inside the country. Almost all are plotting ways to get the West to speak in one voice, rather than let Beijing play one off against the other by threatening to shift a big Boeing order to Airbus. The Presidential commission's central recommendation is that Washington insist that Deng Xiaoping's successors commit to playing by world rules if they want to join the club of trading nations, the World Trade Organization, and make a down payment with some rapid changes in Chinese law.

The commission, at the same time, urges flexibility when it comes to negotiating a timetable for ending many of China's protectionist practices and for improving environmental standards and labor rights.

None of these ideas would be easy to execute in the best of times. But add this hitch: The most recognizable name on the Presidential commission is Charles Yah Lin Trie, the Little Rock restaurateur turned big-time hustler in Beijing, who funneled more than \$640,000 in shady cash to the Democratic National Committee and President Clinton's defense fund last year. It was Mr. Trie who brought Wang Jun, the head of China's state-owned arms manufacturer, to a coffee at the White House. By all accounts, Mr. Trie had no influence on the report; he hasn't shown up at a commission meeting

Continued on page 3

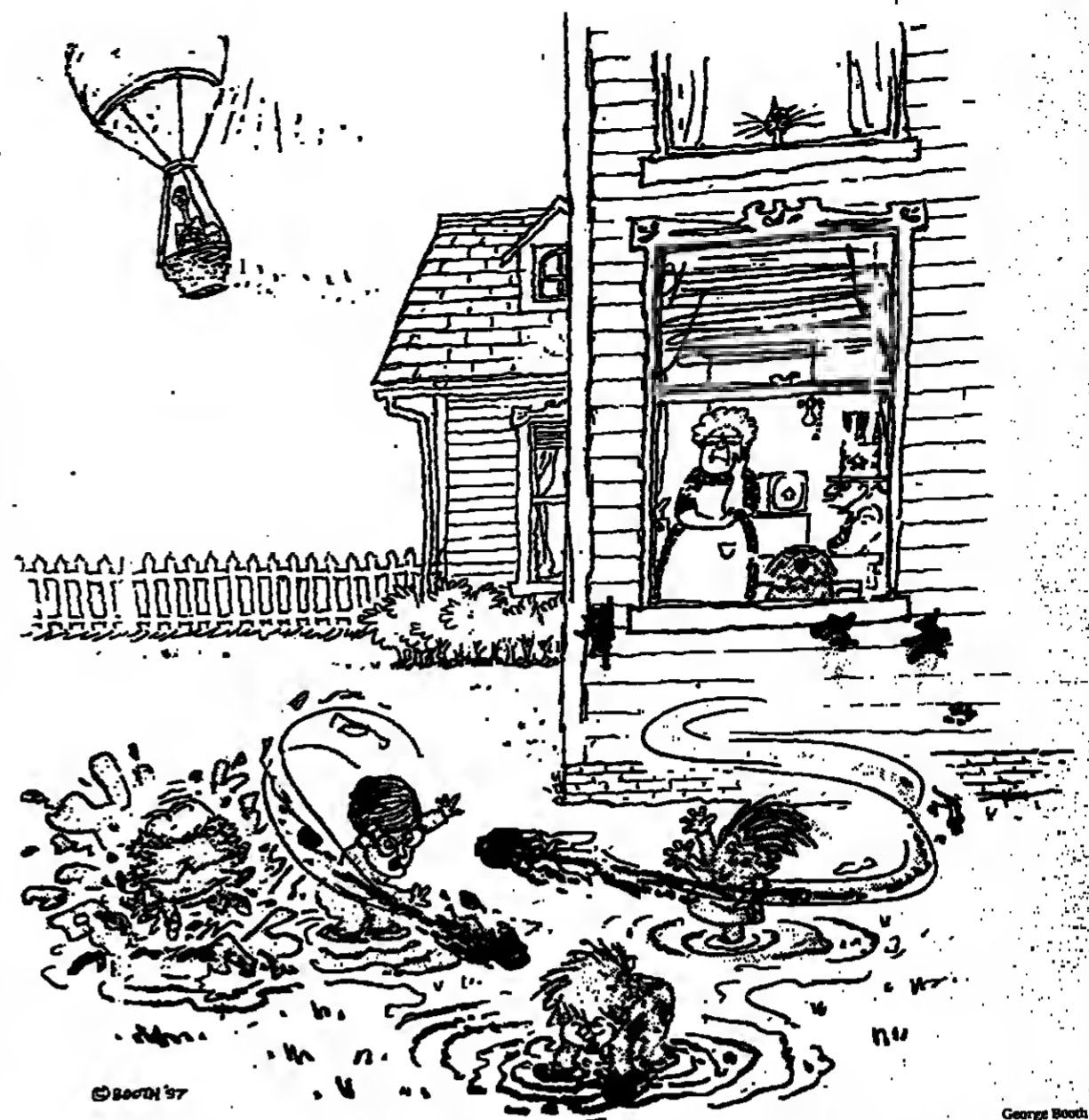
The Nation

Voters! Do You Know Where Your Children Are?

By MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON
AMERICA tried laissez-faire parenting, and sensibly declared it a bust. Modern child-rearing dogma states that kids must learn they alone are responsible for their actions — not society, not school, not the "everybody" who is always doing whatever foul thing one's son or daughter wants to do today, like navel-piercing or exposing one's designer underwear or car-jacking. Personal responsibility has launched a thousand trade paperbacks and boosted the careers of an army of child-behavior gurus: Bill Bennett ("The Book of Virtues," featuring young George Washington and his cherry tree); Barbara Coloroso ("Kids Are Worth It!" exhorting "jellyfish parents" who rescue kids from their mistakes); Robert Coles ("The Moral Intelligence of Children," bemoaning teens who do drugs because their friends do).
 From early on, we have to emphasize that your friends will not provide you with an excuse for doing something wrong and that we'll never accept that excuse," Dr. Sylvia Rimm ("Dr. Rimm's Smart Parenting") said in a telephone chat the other day. Otherwise, she said, the little brats will carry their blame-shifting habits into adulthood.
 And then move to Washington.
 Far be it from Dr. Rimm to pass judgment on the rectitude or ideologies of the nation's leaders, now enmeshed in campaign-spending scandals that have soiled both the Speaker of the House and the President. On the other hand, she and a coughful of other child-development gurus interviewed last week are among the world's leading experts on pre-adolescent behavior.
Taking Responsibility
 In that capacity, they have listened to their leaders' explanations of how they got into this mess, and measured it against their standards for your average two-child-and-a-dog family. Their advice to Republicans and Democrats alike: Go to your rooms.
 "Basically, the real issue for kids as well as adults is to say, 'Well, I did something wrong,'" said Dr. Stanley Elkind ("All Grown Up and No Place to Go"), a child development expert at Tufts. "One of the things about being grown up is taking responsibility for your behavior. And this is one of the things they're not doing."
 True, Mr. Clinton said on Friday that he takes

"personal responsibility" for White House coffees with donors. And Mr. Gingrich admitted he had violated House rules and agreed to pay a \$300,000 fine.
 But Ms. Coloroso writes that children should "take ownership" of misdeeds by admitting error and making amends. Mr. Clinton, by contrast, is defiant: although he railed in 1992 against "cliques of \$100,000 donors" who bought access to the White House, he argued on Friday that White House sleepovers with even bigger donors were perfectly legal hospitality. And he said it was all necessary to beat the Republicans, whose even greedier fund-raising would otherwise have "buried" him. Vice President Al Gore also sidestepped blame last week for using White House phones to hit up donors. Nobody's been jailed for that, he said, in effect, so it must be legal. And anyway, I've stopped.
The Wrong Playground
 And Mr. Gingrich? He later dismissed his violations as "technical," saying lots of politicians run tax-exempt foundations. And he said his fine was not a penalty, but repayment of money the House spent investigating him.
 To some of the experts, this is all too much like the 16-year-old who misses curfew by three hours, blames his tardiness on heavy traffic and says all his friends stay out even later anyway. Ms. Coloroso put it this way: "It wasn't my fault; he made me do it." This is what happens when we don't discipline children at a very young age, as opposed to rescuing them from their mistakes. It's a cycle of evading responsibility.
 Dr. Coles, the world-famous Harvard psychiatrist, put it a bit differently. "It's sort of like an anarchic playground," he said. "One of those unfortunate playgrounds of a kind that maybe some people even sought after in the '60's. In which there were no rules and each kid was allowed to do what he or she wants."
 He dissolved in giggles. "The teachers have all gone home. If this were a school, I'd be laughing and worried at the same time. I'd call the police, but there are no police to be called in, because they've all been bought off."
 Indeed, if politicians were real children, the parenting experts would be nearly unanimous in their view of how the youngsters should be dealt with. "There are things we don't do, not because it's against the law," it's against my religion," or "we might get caught," but simply because we have internalized certain no's into our own moral backbone," Ms. Coloroso writes in "Kids Are Worth It!" It is the parents' job to build that backbone by setting limits and sticking to them, she says.



Dr. Elkind concurs. "Nobody's setting down fairly explicit rules about what the rules of the house are," he said. And, he said, the little miscreant shouldn't be allowed to argue that "everybody does it." "What anybody else does doesn't affect your behavior," he said. "Two wrongs don't make a right."
What Are the Rules?
 Dr. Coles did regain his composure, and ventured that the real problem here may lie deep in the national id. Politics has always smelled of Tammany Hall and Teapot Dome, he suggested, and Americans have always tolerated a little favoritism in politics — to keep govern-

ment running, perhaps. But like a lot of parents, he said, voters have never made clear how much is too much.
 "It's hard to get a real fix on that, because the country hasn't come to that yet," he said. "Maybe this is the beginning of some moral maturation in our lives, and there'll be enough embarrassment and shame that the people will respond and something will be done."
 Sure, and maybe Jimmy Stewart will be elected President on a ticket with Frank Capra Jr.
 Dr. Coles sounded reflective. "Children have to be taught values, and that society insists on obedience to these values," he said. "I don't know whether these children are going to grow up fast enough to enforce discipline on themselves."

Yielding Not an Inch

The Partial-Truth Abortion Fight

By FRANK BRUNI

IN last month's issue of Ms. magazine, in a jumble of health-related dispatches on page 36, lurks the headline, "Does abortion cause breast cancer?" The first four and a half lines of text below it ogle that one study concludes that women who have had abortions are 30 percent more likely to develop the disease.
 But perhaps more interesting, and more illuminating, is what the next and final seven and a half lines of text do. They belittle the results, telling readers that women living in cities, after all, have a 50 percent higher risk of breast cancer. No sooner does abortion receive a tiny, possibly insignificant brush than a fresh coat of makeup is applied to its cheek.
 Outside the pages of Ms., in the halls of Congress and the scattered offices of Planned Parenthood and other organizations, there is something similarly reflexive and, to many observers, unyielding in the way abortion rights advocates have come to react to any potentially unflattering information. The recent confession of one advocate that he deliberately lied about the frequency of a controversial form of late-term abortion suggests a movement enveloped by an extremism that prohibits concessions, compromise, maybe even candor.
Giving No Quarter
 But if such an atmosphere exists, it has arisen from a political battle so passionate and divisive that warriors on both sides feel that all is fair, that no weapon is out of bounds, and that any admission of weakness could give the enemy an opportunity for total conquest.
 "Both sides in the public debate are dominated by hard-liners who can see no compromise and give no quarter," said Stephen L. Carter, a Yale law professor who has written extensively on abortion (though he hasn't stated his own view). Speaking specifically of abortion rights advocates, he added: "They feel that any step in the other direction can lead them down a slippery slope to taking away all their basic rights. They feel that virtue is found in being uncompromising, and they're clearly on the defensive."
 What has put them there is the recent wrangling over a kind of late-term abortion, called "partial birth abortion" by opponents and "intact dilation and extraction" by defenders, in which a fetus is partly extracted from the birth canal and then its brains are suctioned out before the rest of the body is removed.
 Last year, President Clinton vetoed a ban on the procedure because it did not include an exception in cases when the mother's general health was at risk, only when her life was jeopardized. The President also said the procedure was extremely rare and done mostly in medical emergencies.
 But last month Ron Fitzsimmons, the executive director of the National Coalition of Abortion Providers, admitted that such late-term abortions were more common, and the reasons for them sometimes less urgent, than advocates had led people to believe. Mr. Fitzsimmons said that in an interview with "Nightline" in 1995 he himself had lied about those facts.
 In a telephone interview last week, Mr. Fitzsimmons declined to talk about why he lied. He simply stated that it was time for more truth-telling in general in the abortion debate.



Abortion foes targeted students outside North Bergen High School in New Jersey last week.

The writer Anne Roiphe, whose most recent book is "Fruitful: a Real Mother in the Modern World," agrees. Although she said she steadfastly supports abortion rights, Ms. Roiphe added that for too long, too many women like her have felt inhibited about discussing the emotional ambivalence behind their political certainty, lest they inadvertently assist the other side.
 It is a siege mentality that has kept many who favor abortion rights silent about their qualms over late-term abortions and has pushed some toward an unequivocal defense of them. "There are radical differences between a four-week-old fetus and an eight-month-old fetus," Ms. Roiphe said. "Every woman knows this in her heart. But her politics tells her there is no difference."
 Such attitudes have evolved from a conviction that something of the utmost importance is at stake, a right so treasured, and yet so seemingly tenuous, that there is constant dread of its loss.
 For some of its defenders, abortion is also clearly a symbol of one of the earliest and most decisive triumphs of the women's liberation movement. These leaders are fighting for something both broader and vaguer than the option to terminate pregnancies, which is why they remain as tenacious as ever despite the advent of an abortion pill and the promise of other medical strides that might render at least certain aspects of the abortion debate moot.
Truth Suffers
 But their victories have come at what even some supporters say is the cost of complete honesty. "There's a feeling among advocates that this is a transcendent cause, and that the morality of the cause is more important than the morality of the means to promote the cause," said Daniel Callahan, a medical ethicist at the Hastings Center who has written two books about abortion. Mr. Callahan, who identifies himself as pro-choice, said this mentality is shared by the opponents of abortion as well, whom he criticized in particular for not accepting responsibility for the violence that sometimes follows their use of inflammatory words.

Mr. Callahan said that from the beginning of the crusade for abortion rights, the efficacy of certain arguments was deemed more important than their veracity. He recalled that in the late 1960's, one argument of abortion-rights forces was that the illegality of abortion was men's way of suppressing women by keeping them pregnant, if not barefoot and in the kitchen.
 But he said that in private talks with campaigners, they would tell of men pleading with, or coercing, women to have abortions because the men didn't want responsibility for children.
 "I said, 'Gee, that's interesting — we never bear about that,'" Mr. Callahan recalled. "And they said to me: 'We're not going to say that. That's not going to help us. We've got a good story — the suppression of women — and we're not going to muddle it.'"
 Mr. Callahan said the same partial truth-telling characterizes some advocates for AIDS victims concerned that any admission of continued promiscuity would sacrifice public sympathy for gay men. Similarly, he said, anti-smoking campaigners trumped up the significance of studies on second-hand smoke, reasoning that they were on the side of the angels.
 But the abortion wars, he said, have provided the best paradigm of what he calls a new "ethics of advocacy," modeled after the combative behavior of lawyers in a courtroom, in which the quality of facts takes a back seat to the deftness of their manipulation.
 That style, say observers of the abortion fight, marks not just defenders of abortion but also their opponents. The anti-abortion film "Silent Scream," for example, was deemed by many physicians to be a gross misrepresentation. The current anti-abortion campaign aimed at schools has encountered similar criticism.
 The result, sadly, is skepticism, if not cynicism, among the majority of Americans whose opinions put them between the two distant, rigid poles in the debate. "I don't know how they have statistics on some of the things they say they do," Dr. Lynn Rosenberg, a professor at Boston University's School of Medicine, said of both sides. "So I don't believe anything."

When Big Brother Is a Librarian

By JOHN MARKOFF

SAN FRANCISCO
THE communications revolution traces its origins to the sixth century, when European monks began copying early Christian literature from papyrus to parchment to preserve their ancient heritage.
 Today computer scientists, librarians, archivists, intellectual property lawyers and even privacy activists are struggling with a similar challenge: saving the burgeoning digital universe of the World Wide Web for future generations. But it is there that the similarities between monks and Web archivists end.
 While the medieval monks were trying to sustain a centuries-old religious order, the reason for preserving the material on the Web is far more broad and nebulous. While the papyrus-based religious texts of 1,000 years ago were perishable, they were nothing compared to the bits of electronic data that make up the Web. And while the monks set in motion a vast paper-based publishing business that creates archival records that can last hundreds of years and is supported by a vast infrastructure — the library system — the Net has no rules and no institutions for preserving electronic information. Web sites come and go like bubbles in a champagne glass.
 In the eyes of some of the people who helped create the Internet, the anarchy and transience of the World Wide Web will some day be seen as a tremendous loss for humanity.
What's Used and Users
 "We are already creating vast amounts of information which should be saved," said Vinton G. Cerf, a computer scientist and senior vice president at MCI Corp., and the original creator of the Internet's basic software.
 The rallying cry to archive the Web began last year when Nathan Myhrvold, the chief technology officer at Microsoft, sent an electronic "Save the Web!" message to a group of colleagues. "The Internet isn't naturally archival," he said. "The Net isn't going to archive itself." He added, "We can't afford not to save it all."
 Archiving the Web, as it turns out, is far more controversial than initially meets the eye. Last month, Mr. Cerf and Mr. Myhrvold were hosts at a conference on the idea of building a vast electronic copy of the World Wide Web. What they found were not only technical problems, but ethical, legal and academic ones too.
 For example, unlike a paper-based library, an archive of the World Wide Web would keep track of not only

what is on the Web but who has used it. Therefore it could follow the paths of millions of people and record their likes and dislikes, or even their communications with other users. The more complete the Web's archive is, privacy rights advocates say, the deeper the Big Brother problem is.
 There are also copyright questions at stake. When you archive the Internet, "it's safe to say you are violating copyright," said Trotter Hardy, a professor of law at the William and Mary School of Law.
 And there's the problem of the growing bulk of information on the Web. "The question comes down to not what should we preserve, but what can we feasibly manage at this point," said Michael L. Miller, program director for records management at the National Archives and Records Administration.
 The person who knows, perhaps better than anyone, the sheer scale of the data stored in the World Wide Web is Brewster Kahle. He recently founded the Internet Archive, a non-profit organization in San Francisco to capture the entire World Wide Web. Last year, in early December, he measured the size of the Web at one trillion bytes of data — which is called a terabyte.
 Mr. Kahle says a terabyte actually isn't that big. To put it in perspective, he estimates that a video tape holds about 5,000 titles, or about seven terabytes of compressed data. And the Library of Congress contains about 20 million volumes, or about 20 terabytes of typed text.
 What is daunting, though, is that the Web is growing at a furious rate. Between December and the middle of last month, the size of the World Wide Web doubled to two terabytes.
 And with growth comes impermanence. Mr. Kahle points out that more and more frequently when people try to retrieve a hypertext link on the Web, it is already gone.
 A useful service would be an archive that would retrieve such links, perhaps for a fee. Mr. Kahle envisions a sort of "dialable way-back machine," a database version of the device used by Mr. Peabody, the time traveler in the Rocky & Bullwinkle cartoon show.
 If all goes well, though, Mr. Kahle's Internet Archive won't cause nearly as much mischief as Mr. Peabody's way-back machine.

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Ideas & Trends

Your Mom Wears Combat Boots

"So many people get snagged on the details: 'I'm a white Republican male. I have to wear a three-piece suit. I have to eat with this fork.' Forget that! The party really begins when you can throw all that stuff out the window and say, 'I'm ready to experience life.'"

— RuPaul, in the January issue of Interview magazine.

By DAVID BERREBY

DRAG queens like to say that anything you wear is a form of drag. After all, when the day ends the yuppie guy trades his power tie for sweats and a cap worn backward; the businesswoman's practical pantsuit and sensible two-inch heels get exchanged for things tighter, clingier, blacker. So why shouldn't businessmen dressed as cowboys in a Houston bar be called, as one fellow drinker put it, "transvestites"? What are clothes, anyway, if not a projection of a fantasy?

In "The Man in the Red Velvet Dress: Inside the World of Cross-Dressing" (Birk Lane Press, 1996), J. J. Allen writes that the day will come when he can go to any party and get compliments on his beautiful dress. ("After all," writes Allen, a successful salesman and contented cross-dresser in Los Angeles, "a good dress is expensive — and is a guy so wrong for wanting a compliment on his appearance?") But if the response to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's performance at the Inner Circle dinner for press and politicians last weekend is any indication, Mr. Allen will have a long wait.

The Mayor's pink-gowned, platinum-curlied alter-ego, Rudia Giuliana, was all over the newspapers. One of the Mayor's Democratic opponents, Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer, told Newsday that the show was "weird" and implied that the Mayor might need help of the sort only psychological jargon can supply: "I couldn't decide if it was Freudian or Jungian."

Maybe 20 years ago the Mayor of New York wouldn't have performed in a wig, gown and make-up thick enough to have coated Elizabeth I of England. But nowadays, in movies like "Priscilla, Queen of the Desert" and "Mrs. Doubtfire," drag is safely desexualized, presented as a lovable eccentricity, well-suited to that standard Hollywood message: just be yourself.

In the real world, drag is not confined to



Howard Stern, chatting recently with David Letterman, in book-promotion gear.

amiable lip-synching by cute, no-threatening gay men. Gay culture has its spectacular drag queens like the Lady Bunny, organizer of the annual Wigstock bash in Greenwich Village, and its satirists like Hedda Lettuce, the singer-impresario and columnist who, writing in the gay weekly Next, recently scoffed at the very idea of a heterosexual cross-dresser: "Their denial is as great as their need to wear bad make-up."

Yet there is a separate culture of cross-dressing straight men, who sometimes involve their wives in transvestite organizations that won't admit homosexuals. And there is a third kind of cross-dresser who considers himself female and is preparing for a sex change.

If the drag subculture has been sanitized for the mainstream ("I'm a Disney character," said RuPaul, who is, among other things, host of a television show), perhaps that has helped make heterosexual cross-dressers more acceptable, at least if they are famous or powerful. Howard Stern lost no fans by promoting his last book in drag. Whatever fans think of Dennis Rodman's refusal to become a plaster-saint inspiration to Youth, his penchant for dresses is

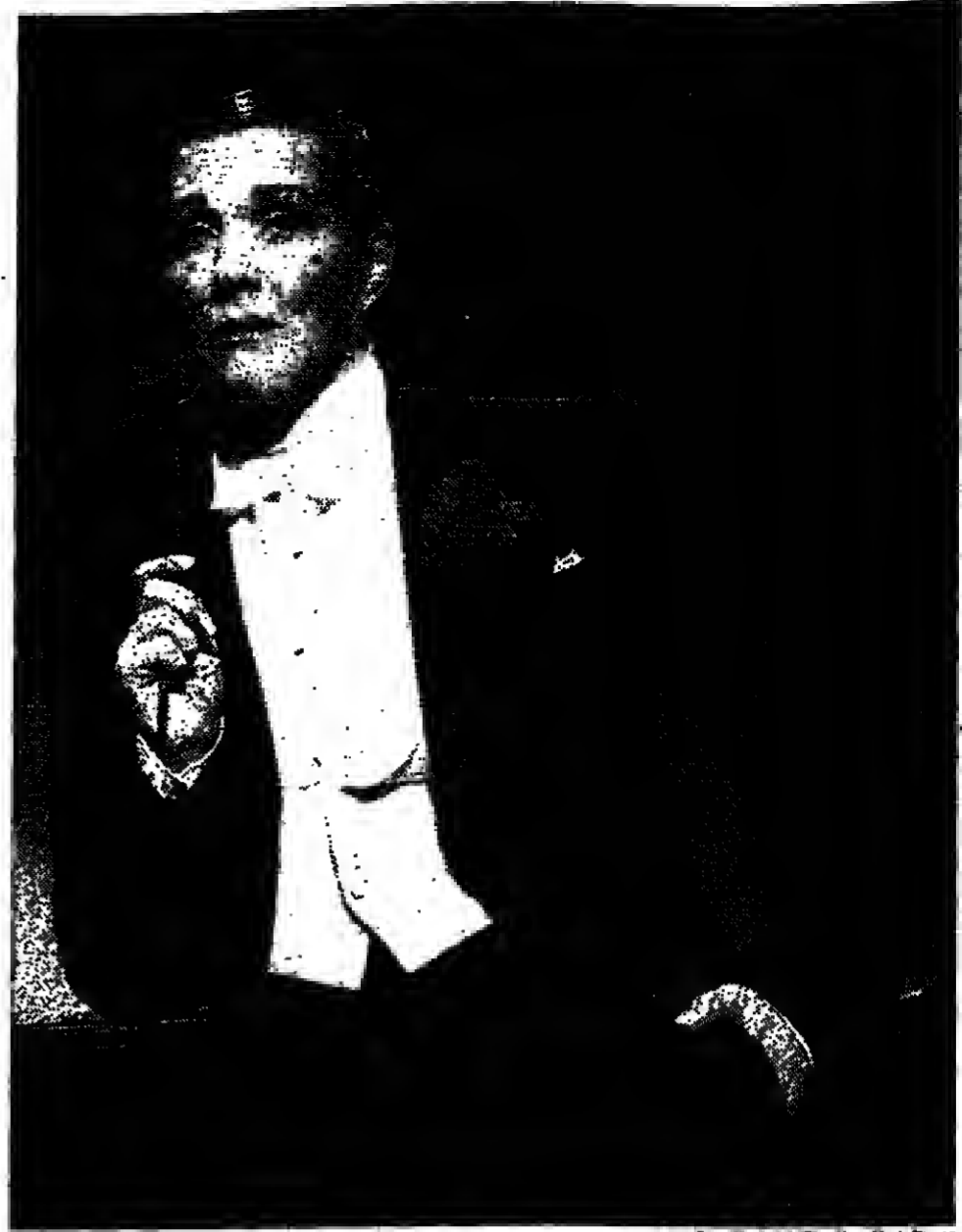
seen more as eccentricity than perversion; Neil Cargile, the Nashville businessman known as "high-heel Neil," hasn't been drummed out of business, polite society or even the Republican Party.

In "Vested Interests" (Routledge, 1992), a meditation on society's periodic flirtation with cross-dressing, Marjorie Garber, a professor of English at Harvard, proposes that drag marks a "category crisis," a blurring of cultural, social or esthetic distinctions. Conventions of gender change over the centuries (an 18th century French aristocrat would not have regarded his wig, make-up, or silk stockings as effeminate). But the lines are always drawn, and their blurring, Ms. Garber argues, is a sign of cultural flux.

Women in Boxers

A century ago, a woman in pants could provoke as much unease as a man in a dress. But now practically no item of man's clothing — combat boots, even boxer shorts — is off-limits to women. To shock, a woman has to appropriate other tokens of maleness, like the false beards used by "drag kings."

Sometimes women take up articles of



The Mayor's inspiration: Julie Andrews in "Victor/Victoria."

male apparel like ties and shoulder pads that connote privilege, power, even menace. And that may be a kind of fantasy of power — power to pay salaries, hire and fire, arrest and harass, which belong, disproportionately, to heterosexual men. But these women don't seem to provoke male anxiety.

Neither does the drag of gay performers. "The essence of drag and camp is about people on the margins," Jennie Livingston, director of a 1991 documentary on transvestites, "Paris is Burning," once said.

But for straight white men, a binge of cross-dressing can symbolize not marginality but its opposite. The corporate executive who straps a halved coconut to his chest for a routine at the summer-fun outing goes back to power suits, power lunches and power. A

drag queen, however fabulous a creature, is an outcast. For an influential man, drag can be a way of stating he has power to spare.

Maybe that's why the straight cross-dresser is resented by many drag queens, and not infrequently by women. "At least RuPaul is the real thing," the theater critic Linda Winer wrote in an essay comparing straight men in drag to minstrel showmen in blackface. "It's straight actors pretending to be women who make me really cranky."

In other words, there is drag and there is drag. Mr. Giuliani was not merely showing that he could have fun, but that he could afford to. It's a safe bet that if Mr. Ferrer or anybody else posed a threat in the polls, the Mayor would have spent Saturday night in Republican male drag: a three-piece suit.

Lotto Madness

It's Easier to Beat Las Vegas Than New York

By JAMES STERNGOLD

DREAM a dream, but factor in odds of 12.9 million-to-1 when you do.

About the best thing that can happen to a gambling outfit happened last week, when the New York State lottery announced a \$45 million jackpot. Though four players split the money, the state ran away with the biggest prize. It was the state's third largest jackpot ever, and the news — read: free publicity — created lines that snaked around bodegas and newsstands across the state, increasing the state's take.

Lotteries are strange creatures. They fire the imagination, offer opportunities to crooks and schemers and put state governments in the business of condoning gambling.

They also thrive on ignorance.

For instance, while the New York Lottery enjoyed the windfall of all the promotional excitement around the giant jackpot, the \$45 million that it awarded represented only about 40 percent of its ticket sale revenues. A Las Vegas slot machine, by contrast, pays out over 90 percent of its total intake.

From a player's perspective, the New York lottery is a worse bet than the average state lottery, which is a

worse bet than a casino.

Thirty-seven states plus Washington D.C. operate lotteries. Together, they sold \$35 billion in tickets last year and, on the average, paid out less than 60 percent of that in prizes, well below a casino's payout of more than 80 percent.

So why do people play the lottery? Because the rare payouts are huge. For example, in California 10 people shared the \$118.8 million state lottery jackpot in June 1994.

There are ways to beat the odds. But most of them are illegal. Several years ago, some crooks in Pennsylvania, including one who worked for the lottery, injected some balls with a heavy liquid and inscribed them with the numbers 4 and 6. Then they substituted them for some of the numbered ping pong balls in the machine. Naturally, the heavier balls, with the numbers 4 and 6, fell to the bottom of the machine. The winner that night was \$66. And the \$3.5 million jackpot went to the crooks, until some bookies eventually tipped off the state to the scheme.

In Virginia in 1992, an Australian syndicate spent nearly \$7 million buying up all the possible lottery number combinations. They syndicate won \$27 million. After that, the state toughened its rules on how many tickets any one store could sell.

Lotteries by the Numbers

1. The 37 states that operate lotteries (and the District of Columbia) spent \$372 million on advertising in 1996.	4. The all-time biggest payouts: California \$118.8 million June 1994 10 Winners	5. New York sold \$3 billion in lottery tickets in 1995, followed by Massachusetts with \$2.8 billion and Florida with \$2.3 billion.
2. Among the most popular numbers played are 7, 13 and 711, according to Lottery and Casino News.	Pennsylvania \$115.5 million August 1993 14 Winners	6. One of the most successful lottery enthusiasts is Pasquale Benenati, a retired surveyor in California. He won a \$5.1 million jackpot in 1989, a \$150,000 prize in 1991 and two Keno prizes in 1993 worth a total of \$2,000.
3. New York Lotto players can pick numbers from 1 to 54. The numbers drawn most often have been 46, 4, 13, 43, 54 and 7. The number 51 has been chosen the fewest times.	Wisconsin \$111.2 million July 1993 1 Winner	

Sources: La Fleur's Lottery World, New York State Lottery, International Gaming and Wagering Business

The Quest for Teeth to Jawbone China

Continued From Page 1

since the fall and has never seen the draft of its report.

In Washington's scandal-charged atmosphere, though, Mr. Trie's name is enough to taint the report. And the problem does not stop there. If Mr. Clinton makes even minor gestures to Beijing, the response is not hard to imagine. "All over the Hill, and on every talk show, you'll be hearing the same question," predicted one recently departed Clinton Administration official. "Is this the payoff? Is this what all the Asian money was about?"

In fact, it's hard to imagine that money turned around Mr. Clinton's basic China policy — that happened without prompting in the spring of 1994. It was then that Mr. Clinton backed down from the rhetoric of his first campaign and adopted the line that linking human rights to trading rights was bound to fail. Mr. Clinton's advisers never figured out how to press a human rights agenda once the Chinese figured out they had nothing to lose. Every trade mission to China would ritualistically raise the subject, but "the Chinese knew it was so we could go in front of the camera and say that we pressed them," one negotiator recalled recently. "Then it was on to business."

There are no satisfying alternatives in the murky ground between using trade as a lever and giving human rights the kiss-off as you sign a deal for hangar full of 767's. But if you listen to the Administration talk to the Chinese, you can hear some new theme.

Speaking in Hong Kong last week, Lawrence H. Summers, the deputy treasury secretary, tried impressing upon China that repression is expensive. If China borches its takeover of the colony, he warned in a speech, "Hong Kongers have the ability to make such actions extremely costly" for Beijing taking their ex-

Check the Label

With all the debate about whether to let China join the World Trade Organization, it's easy to lose sight of how deeply China already depends on the global economy. Total exports reached \$151 billion last year; goods exported to the United States alone accounted for somewhere between \$27 billion and \$50 billion. Here are three products familiar to American consumers and the percentage of each made in China.

Tickle Me Elmo dolls	100%	
Apple computer mice	90%	
Shoelaces	90%	

Moral arguments haven't worked. But maybe China can be persuaded that repression is expensive.

pertise and their billions in cash somewhere else. "If there is to be some convergence of systems over time," Mr. Summers continued, "it would be beneficial for all involved that China's system become more like Hong Kong's than the other way around."

One big test of whether China agrees may lie in the future of Hong Kong's courts. It has long had an independent judiciary, one of the reasons the island has been a thriving commercial hub, and some of its principles are clearly making their way over the border; Chinese entrepreneurs have a clear interest in protecting their businesses from bribe-seeking bureaucrats and competitors eager to rip off manufacturing processes.

That's why China's big revision of its criminal code, announced last week, focused heavily on finance: it included the country's first insider-trading laws, a first shot at cleaning up the notoriously corrupt Shanghai stock exchange. And it made money laundering an offense, presumably so the tax man can get his piece.

In trade agreements, the United States has been trying to accelerate this movement. As part of last year's accord to end the rampant pirating of American movies, software and videos, China finally agreed to wipe out the huge fees charged to any foreigner seeking

to file a court case.

"It sounds like a small, technical point," said Charlene Barshefsky, the United States Trade Representative. "But if the system is designed so that you can't even launch a case, then there is no hope."

Getting Westinghouse a day in court, though, is very different from getting one for imprisoned dissidents like Wang Dan. No one is expecting Beijing to subject its political decrees to judicial review. China's model is Singapore, where corruption is rare, the legal system is efficient, and the leaders never lose a case. The bet, though, is that the spread of legal norms will be hard to control.

"Look, this is our best shot," said Ms. Barshefsky. "If a real legal tradition is going to start somewhere, it's in the commercial sector. Does that mean it is bound to spill over into the social sector, to make the courts a place you go to protect free-speech rights? No one's that naïve. But it's a start."

The same logic favors China's entry into the World Trade Organization. Now, most-favored-nation treatment gives China the main benefit of joining — low tariffs on its goods — but none of the responsibilities. Membership means subscribing to thickets of regulations, and agreeing to abide by the rulings of W.T.O. judges.

It is a nice-sounding strategy, but suing Beijing in Geneva is not the kind of get-tough behavior that China hard-liners in Washington have in mind. It's painfully slow. The judges are timorous. Human rights cases and arms shipments are off-limits for the trade court.

Worse, China could use the mechanism against Washington, to challenge the trade sanctions that Washington periodically slaps on Beijing. And it might not be a pretty picture — the first time that Washington lost a case to Beijing.

Ideas & Trends

It's Called Poor Health for a Reason

By RICHARD A. SHWEDER

FROM a cerebro-vascular, genito-urinary, gastro-intestinal, psycho-therapeutic or mortuary point of view, the rich and famous have never had it so good. Yes, their children are more prone to acne and allergies. Nevertheless, during the last half of the 20th century, people in the developed world with an elevated social status have been producing health, well-being and longevity at a faster rate than those with lower social standing.

Physical and mental health run parallel to social rank. In England, commoners die sooner than aristocrats. In the military, sergeants have more heart attacks than generals. Blue-collar workers — and not only those working in mines, construction sites and chemical plants — have more respiratory infections and hacking coughs than white-collar workers. Office clerks are more anxious and depressed than office managers. Lower-middle-class Americans are more mortal, morbid, symptomatic and disabled than upper-middle-class Americans. With each little step down on the educational, occupational and income ladders comes an increased risk of headaches, varicose veins, hypertension, sleepless nights, emotional distress, heart disease, schizophrenia and an early visit to the grave.

The funny thing is, no one knows why. Of course, people who are socially well placed have not always been spared the ravages of disease. Mythic images of wounded elites come to mind: gout-endamaged royalty, wan and hysterical Victorian ladies, ascetic malnourished Brahman widows, Mandarins eating vitamin-deficient polished rice and bearing beriberi. In the 1920's and 30's, coronary heart disease was apparently a mark of social distinction among men in England. In the 1940's and 50's, the polio virus crippled those at the top in the United States. And even today there are a few afflictions, like breast cancer and malignant melanomas, that seem to prevail among citizens of high station.

On the whole, though, the upper-crust neuroses and illnesses have all but disappeared from Europe and the United States. During the last 50 years, Western men and women of higher status have lived longer and have

Richard A. Shweder, a cultural anthropologist, is chairman of the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago.

been healthier and saner than the people they outclass.

The study of "social inequalities in health" is today one of the hottest areas in epidemiology, medical sociology and health psychology. Only last December, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation established a research network on socioeconomic status and health, under the direction of Nancy Adler, a psychologist at the University of California, San Francisco.

Much of the excitement dates from the 1980 publication of the "Black Report," when Sir Douglas Black (a former president of the Royal College of Physicians) and his medical, social science and public policy associates showed the statistical association between illness and social class in England and Wales. The Conservative Government detested the Black Report, viewing it as a trespass of social medicine into politics, an ideologi-

No one knows why people with high social status are more healthy and less crazy.

cal tract produced by welfare-state advocates longing to redistribute wealth and level the social class system. Liberal egalitarians, just as predictably, took the study as proof that social hierarchy is a public health problem.

Politics aside, no one knows precisely why people with high status are more healthy and less crazy.

It is not primarily because they have better access to health care. Socioeconomic differences exist for diseases that are not amenable to treatment. In fact, since the advent of the British National Health Service in 1948, the gap in health between occupational statuses in England has widened. (Perhaps this confirms the dismal economic principle that publicly financed institutions — hospitals, schools, highways and courts — always benefit the well-to-do most.)

The health gap cannot be blamed mostly on hazardous work or living conditions, either. Social status differences in health persist even when members of different social classes are exposed to similar levels of pollutants and carcinogens in their environment.

Nor is poverty itself the prime reason. Consider, for

example, the famous "Whitehall Studies," an investigation of the tidy, hierarchically graded world of relatively well-off white-collar British civil servants, conducted by the epidemiologist Michael Marmot and his public health colleagues at University College, London.

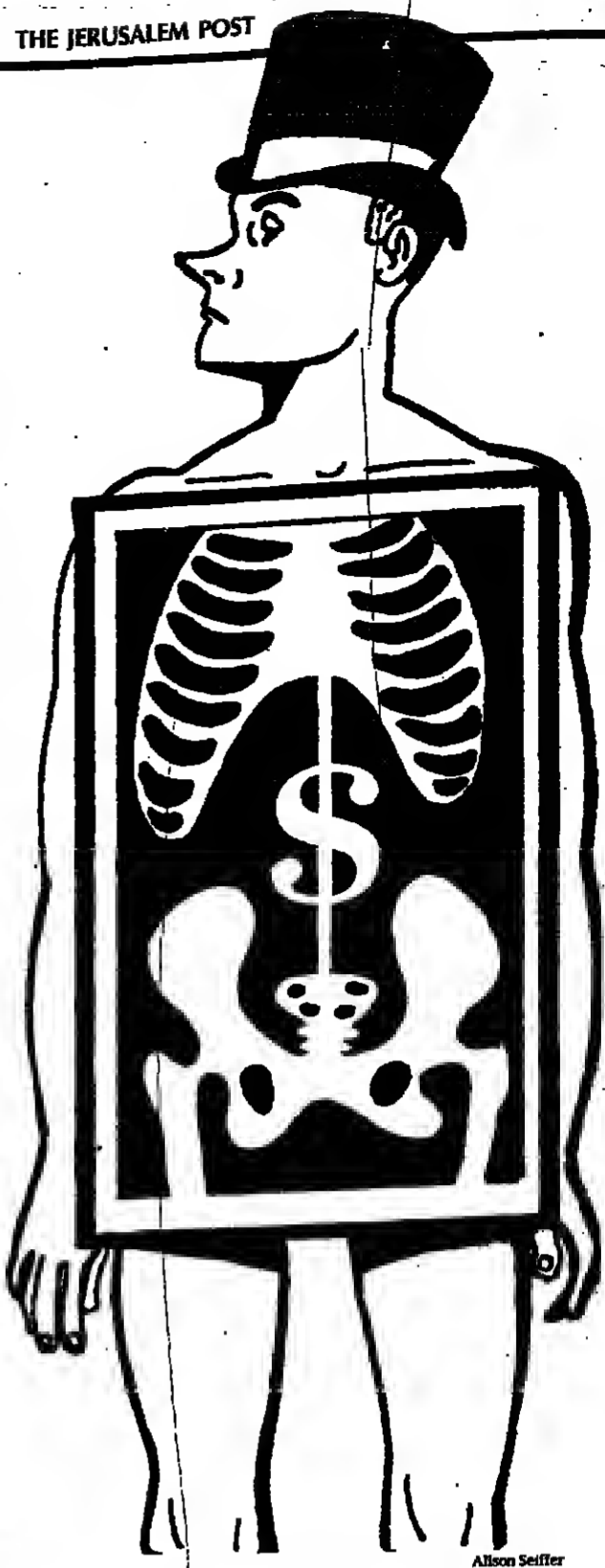
The Whitehall study showed that with each tiny descent in civil service rank, from senior executive officer down to executive officer, comes more angina, more diabetes and more rough cough with phlegm. In this securely employed population, the mortality gap between senior administrators and clerical workers is even greater than the health divide in the general population. Moreover, as comparisons between richer and poorer countries in Europe have shown time and again, greater national wealth does not readily translate into greater national health. A 45-year-old Greek male can expect to live longer than his English peer.

The health gap cannot be blamed primarily on life style differences, either. It's true that clean living (no smoking, alcohol or fatty foods and lots of exercise) is a high-status religious activity (though professional women probably drink more liquor than working-class women). Nevertheless, it turns out that most of the social inequality in coronary heart disease remains even after such life-style differences are taken into account.

Could the health gap exist because unhealthy people are downwardly mobile or because healthy women marry up? Those things do happen. Some people rise in status because they are vigorous and others are "selected" for demotion because they are disabled or out of their minds. But social migration isn't enough of a stampede to explain all the health effects.

Neo-conservatives believe that both health and high social rank are jointly produced and justly earned by hard-working, intelligent people who avoid reckless risks, educate themselves and take a long view of life. And liberal-minded egalitarians believe that health is a common good that ought to be provided and regulated by the government (just like highways, schools, courts and national defense). But neither side has explained how the health divide is actually produced.

Perhaps it is karma. Perhaps it is in the genes. Perhaps it is all of the reasons above. Perhaps it is a statistical artifact. Perhaps the safest thing one can say is that the socioeconomic health gradient is a "multiple complex synergistic non-linear incremental cumulative threshold-bound lag effect." Social scientists like to talk like that when they think they are looking at something important but don't really know what is going on.



Inheriting the Wind

Green Power Wanes, but Not at the Grass Roots

By AGIS SALPUKAS

WINDMILLS, solar panels, steam energy from deep in the earth. Many Americans have yearned to produce energy without polluting the air and water or burning irreplaceable fuels like coal, oil and natural gas.

But renewable sources of power have proved to be less than reliable in recent years. They have failed to supply large amounts of energy and, perhaps most important, cannot compete with the cheap power derived from fossil fuels.

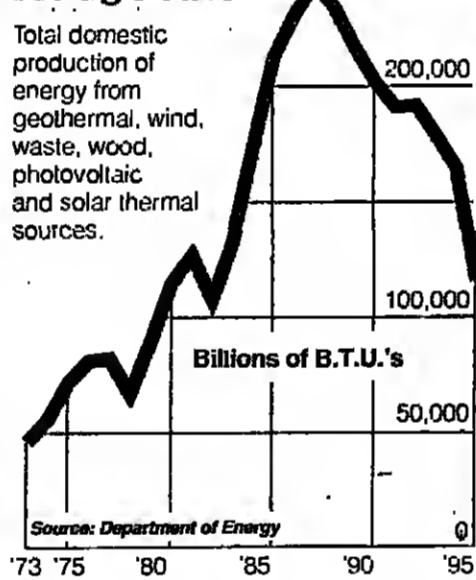
For a time in the late 1980's and early 1990's, the promise of unlimited renewable energy seemed close to realization. Consumers, scientists and entrepreneurs were fascinated. And the companies involved in alternative power sources multiplied, while researchers made breakthroughs that lowered costs. Wind energy produced power for about 5 cents a kilowatt hour, nearing the levels produced at huge coal-burning and nuclear plants. Companies like Kenetech Corporation in Livermore, Calif., developed propeller-churning turbines designed to make wind a mainstream source of energy.

Strong Public Support

But in the past five years, the promise of renewable power has become a distant hope. Incentives provided by state regulators and utilities have disappeared. Federal research funds have been cut by a budget-conscious Congress. The industry itself has stumbled. Kenetech's newest turbines were flawed, according to a stockholder lawsuit and some industry analysts, and the company's wind subsidiary was forced to seek bankruptcy protection.

But while green power itself is in retreat, the grass-roots support for it is still widespread. Central and South West Corporation, an electric and natural gas utility in the Southwest, recently held town meetings with

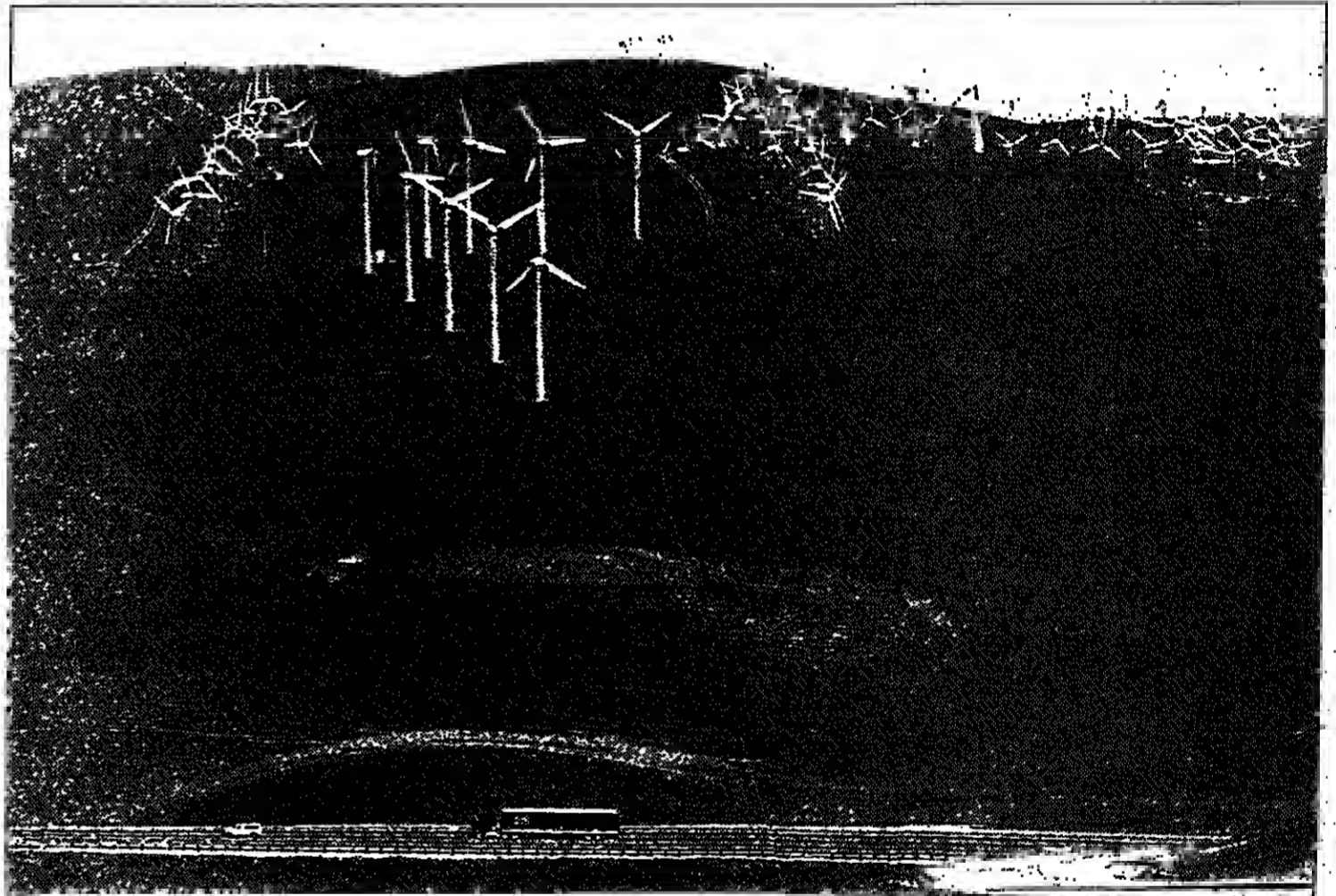
Fading Power



Deregulation has distracted utilities from developing other sources of energy.

some of its 1.7 million customers and found strong support for alternative energy sources. Most residents said they were willing to pay from \$5 to \$7 more a month to have solar or other alternatives supply part of their energy.

"There is a market out there for renewables," said E. R. Brooks, chairman of the



Huge propeller turbines at Kenetech Windpower near Livermore, Calif., were built as an alternative to fossil fuels.

utility corporation. "Many people want the option."

Consumers want the option of using more green power, but it has become harder to get. "America gets less electricity from solar, wind and geothermal today than it did five years ago," said Ralph Cavanagh, the energy program director of the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group. Even at its peak in 1987, the industry represented about four-tenths of a percent of the total energy production in this country; today it is about two-tenths of a percent.

California's Commitment

A major reason for the decline involves the deregulation of the utilities industry. Many states are opening their utilities to producers and marketers of low-cost electricity, giving customers a choice and perhaps lower rates. California, which passed its deregulation law last fall, will enable corporations, universities and other big customers to choose their energy provider in 1998. It will also guarantee small customers a rate reduction of 10 percent.

Facing competition, many utility companies have become preoccupied with cutting costs, merging with other energy companies, and expanding overseas. Houston's NGC Corporation, a natural gas seller, recently bought Destec Energy, a local power plant operator. Some utilities are restructuring so they can distribute only electricity.

California, which is home, if not a beacon, to many renewable energy companies, provided vital support for green power by providing utilities to enter into long-range con-

tracts to buy alternative power at high prices. But in 1994 the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission ruled that states cannot force utilities to use renewable energy instead of cheaper sources. Since renewable energy now costs more than that generated by coal, natural gas and nuclear plants, the ruling effectively undermined the industry. Some companies and projects collapsed.

The renewable energy industry is fighting to keep a foothold in the United States; some

Generating electricity from solar panels and wind turbines is still more expensive than using oil, coal or gas.

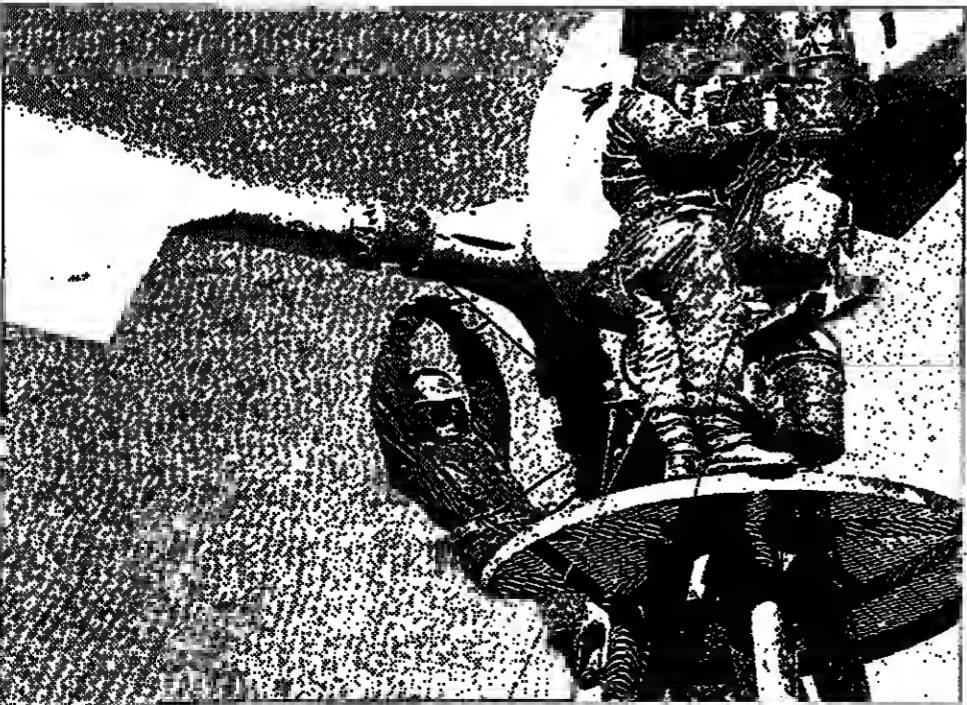
companies manage by selling wind turbines and solar panels to underdeveloped countries. A flourishing international market has enabled some companies to survive the downturn in this country. Wind and solar power is popular in countries like India and Pakistan where large rural areas are without power plants and extensive transmission systems. Some European countries are also satisfied customers.

There is a bright side to the American quest for alternative energy. With its deregulation law, California is dedicating a little less than 1 percent of every electric bill to supporting research as well as programs for green power; the fund is expected to total about \$540 million by 2002. In its fiscal 1997 budget the Clinton Administration has also proposed a sizable increase in funds for research into green sources of power, but the proposal may not survive Congress.

As various states begin pilot programs to investigate electricity deregulation, marketers of power are finding that offering some form of green power is a selling point. While green energy has often turned out to be hydroelectric, which is generated through huge dams that inundate land for miles, its environmental appeal has drawn in utilities and other energy companies. Enron Corporation, a major gas distributor and wholesaler of gas and electricity based in Houston, is trying to turn itself into a national marketer of gas and electricity. It recently added renewable energy to its portfolio by acquiring the Zond Corporation, a California-based developer of wind power.

In the meantime technological improvements in the field are continuing.

The cost of making semiconductor systems has sharply dropped with the use of photovoltaic cells, which convert the energy of light to electricity. Researchers at the National Renewable Energy Laboratory, part of the Department of Energy, have produced a bacterium that cuts the cost of converting waste from agriculture and forestry to ethanol. "Big strides in technology are bringing the cost of power down," Dr. Charles Gay, director of the laboratory, said.



Maintenance crews work on one of the wind turbines at Kenetech Windpower.

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ECONOMY

Downsized but Not Out: A Tale of a Maine Mill Town

By JON NORDHEIMER

FOR more than a century, outsiders controlled the economic destiny of the men and women who toiled in the textile mills of this coastal town south of Portland.

Whether those who held this power were faceless Boston bankers, Southern textile brokers or Wall Street portfolio managers didn't matter much to the millworkers.

After all, they reassured one another, they helped produce Sunbeam's popular, and profitable, "Beauty With a Brain" line of electric blankets.

But Mr. Dunlap didn't get his nick-

name "Chainsaw Al" for nothing. In November, he announced that the Biddeford plant would be either shut down or sold as part of his plan to slash Sunbeam's overall work force in half.

The toll hands reacted to the thunderbolt much as most people deal with death — with disbelief, anger and depression. They have resisted, so far, only the last stage: acceptance.

Moreover, plant closings are hardly unusual these days. About 10 times a week, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a big factory shuts down somewhere in the United States, throwing an average of 190 people out of work with each closing.

But these are ordinary folks — on the flip side of the investing public's obsession with the surging Dow Jones industrial average and the performance of its mutual funds.

The Biddeford mill work force, including managers who worry as much about their own futures, now stands at under 300 because of winter layoffs. Few jobs in the local market come close to the \$9 to \$13 an hour that workers are paid to tend the thrumming weaving machines.

That tradition goes back a long way. It is hard to imagine today, but this town was once a cradle of American industry, beginning in 1826 when the largest cotton mill in the country was built on an island where the Saco River plunged into spray-tossing cataracts.

Yankee farmhands were the first millworkers, subsequently replaced by Irish immigrants and French-Canadians who trekked from rural Quebec, sometimes by foot, as production expanded and more cheap labor was needed.

With no money or political power to speak of, the mill hands relied on grit as their main weapon against anguish while waiting for Mr. Dunlap to decide whether to close or sell the mill.

Yet grit alone would not be enough to prevail against the executive suites of Sunbeam's South Florida headquarters. In the end, however, millworkers may be saved from the scrap heap of totemic corporate history through a union effort to negotiate an employee stock ownership plan with the help of a private investor and a mill manager who — in their eyes — is as much a hero as Mr. Dunlap is a villain.

The workers' first reaction to Mr. Dunlap's November announcement was shocked disbelief and bafflement. "We've been working a lot of overtime this year, so no one guessed it would be this bad," muttered Rosaire Breault a few days before Thanksgiving, as he downed an early-morning \$1 pint of beer at Pop's, a workers' hangout a block from the mill.

Rumors were still flying about Sunbeam's intentions, and Mr. Breault was under the false impression that Mr. Dunlap had set a Jan. 1 deadline for deciding whether to jettison the Biddeford factory.

"The thing nobody can figure out is, why would Dunlap want to get rid of the only mill that makes shells for the electric blanket line he wants to keep?" he finally said. "It doesn't make sense."

Just down the street from Pop's, a similar incredulity reigned at the meeting hall of Local 1856 of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

They suspected that Sunbeam had a hidden agenda: It would either bust the union contract and cut wages and health plan benefits, or it would sell the mill to a buyer who would create up its modern machines and relocate production closer to Sunbeam's Mississippi plant, where the shells are shipped to be fitted with electrical-heating components.

"Why else would they sell their only supplier?" asked Ray Tilton, president of the local and the third generation in his family to work in



Albert J. Dunlap

the mill. "It's like making an engine without a car to put it in."

"There are a lot of half-empty textile mills in the South that would be happy to be Sunbeam's supplier," interjected Michael J. Cavanaugh, assistant manager of the union's regional board.

The conversation soon veered into wishful thinking. "They have no experience down there making blanket shells," declared Mr. Tilton, who works a second job driving a taxi at night.

"Compare our blankets with what they produce down there," he continued. "They're like a rag. If you went down there and said you were a millworker from Maine, they'd hire you in a heartbeat," he said, snapping his fingers for punctuation.

It is an axiom of the mill that the closer a job places a worker to the loom, the higher he or she is in the pecking order, both for pay and respect.

"Any company can weave our shells if they have our patterns," she said flatly, bringing the conversation down to earth.

Recently installed modern machinery at the mill could be shipped almost anywhere, she said, even to Mexico.

"I have the feeling, Ray," she said, softly now, as she looked at Mr. Tilton. "If he wanted to move us down South they could do it. That's what scares me."

"I don't know," replied Mr. Tilton, a little deflated but refusing to concede defeat. "We have all the experience. The tradition. Our families are here."

"They could retrain workers and get it done in six months," Mrs. LaChance said, pursing her lips with conviction.

"Family, traditions — that means this much to Al Dunlap," said another person in the room, forming a zero with his thumb and forefinger.

"Well, if some new owner comes in here and tells us to renegotiate our contract and cut benefits or he'll move South," Mr. Szumita retorted, growing angrier. "We're going to tell him to take his company and get the hell out of town!"

Similar scenes unfolded throughout this town of 21,000 in the early days. But the mood of defiance was hard to maintain against a faraway autocrat who held all the cards. By mid-December, it was giving way to

fear in the mill families' lives.

Already, some millworkers were being idled in seasonal layoffs and other cutbacks. The rest were picking up their weekly paychecks not knowing whether each payment would be their last. Then, the week before Christmas, the mill was idled for repairs to a smokestack. There was no work and no pay.

Suddenly, what bravado remained had an air of desperation. "I ain't going to let Al Dunlap spoil Christmas," Norm Gagnon sang out a little too brightly on a cold morning as sunshine streamed into his new kitchen.

Last spring, Mr. Gagnon, 48, who had worked at the mill since 1974 as a carding-machine operator, and his wife Sharon, took out a \$75,000 bank loan to remodel their home. That was a lot of money for a couple whose combined income at the time — she made \$11.99 an hour as a trouble-shooter in the spinning unit, he earned \$10.44 — totaled \$900 a week.

"If we'd known what was coming we'd have never taken that loan," Mrs. Gagnon said. "But we're better off than most because we work at other jobs." Under a Christmas tree in the living room were piles of brightly wrapped gifts. "We saved \$1,500 in our Christmas club," she added.

She was wrong. Two days before Christmas, Mr. Gagnon was laid off with 37 other millworkers. The gift exchange with relatives the next day was a somber affair, and things have not improved.

The threat of losing their textile jobs — and dropping down the economic ladder to within a couple of rungs of the minimum wage — haunts the workforce. Millwork is hard, dusty, noisy and repetitive, requiring a high tolerance for boredom.

"In most cities the mills would be considered employers of last resort, but in Biddeford it's the cream," said Charles Butler Jr., head of the local historical society. "Jobs pass down in families from one generation to the next because the wages and health benefits are good compared to anything else available in town."

Marge Perry, 39, a single mother who earns \$12.37 an hour as a weaver, foresees a grim future if the Sunbeam plant closes. There is only one other textile plant in town, owned by West Point Stevens of West Point, Ga., but openings are scarce.

But maybe the mill won't close, after all. If there is a hero in this story, it is probably Rene Boisvert, Biddeford Textile's top executive who resigned in December rather than oversee the possible destruction of the company he had helped create.

As quiet as Mr. Dunlap is brash, Mr. Boisvert (his full name is pronounced RAIN-ee BO-vye) is the model boss who came up through the ranks. Though he refuses to give his age, he says he started out 43 years ago on the production line at the Biddeford mill, then owned by West Point Pepperell (since renamed West Point Stevens).

After Sunbeam took over, ultimately becoming the only producer of electric blankets in the country, he never forgot his roots, making a practice of strolling on the production floor in his shirt sleeves and soliciting the workers' views on pro-

duction improvements. His former charges talk about him in tones approaching reverence, and at first, his departure prompted despair.

"We feel Rene was the only one looking out for the workers," Mrs. Gagnon said. But instead of beading for the sunny South, Mr. Boisvert got into the thick of negotiations to find a way to salvage his mill.

The discussions, involving city and state officials, the union and Sunbeam, had begun almost as soon as Mr. Dunlap announced his intention to rid his company of the plant. Sunbeam assigned its investment bank, Chase Securities, a unit of Chase Manhattan, the task of seeking potential buyers. The union, for its part, engaged American Capital Strategies of Bethesda, Md., an investment bank that specializes in helping labor unions develop employee stock ownership plans to buy their companies, troubled or not.

As January came and went without any developments, the remaining management team appeared as much in the dark as the workers about the mill's fate. "Just like us, they don't know if they'll have a job when they show up for work tomorrow," said Ms. Perry, the weaver.

Adding to the somber tone was news in January that a profitable Sunbeam unit in McMinnville, Tenn., which had been spared the Dunlap ax in November, was being closed and the operation moved to Mexico, at a loss of \$50 jobs.

As the talks in Biddeford progressed, details of a possible solution leaked out. An outside investor — Michael Liberty, a Portland real-estate developer — was willing to take a large stake in a new company that would buy the plant from Sunbeam for an unspecified sum. His two equity partners would be American Capital Strategies and the millworkers, who would make pay and benefits concessions in return for their stake.

Mr. Dunlap, professing enthusiasm for the proposed agreement, pledged to continue buying the blankets for several years. He also said he would make efforts by the new company to sell blankets to other buyers; already, it sells one-tenth of its annual production to airlines and prisons.

And running the show, as of old, would be Mr. Boisvert, who would take the title of president and chief executive of the new concern.

The prospect of Mr. Boisvert's return heartened the rank and file as nothing else had throughout the cold winter. "Rene is well-off enough to be playing golf in Florida this winter, but he really cares about the people who work at the mill and what happens to them," said a union member who requested anonymity, fearing that he would be seized by Mr. Dunlap as an excuse to torpedo talks.

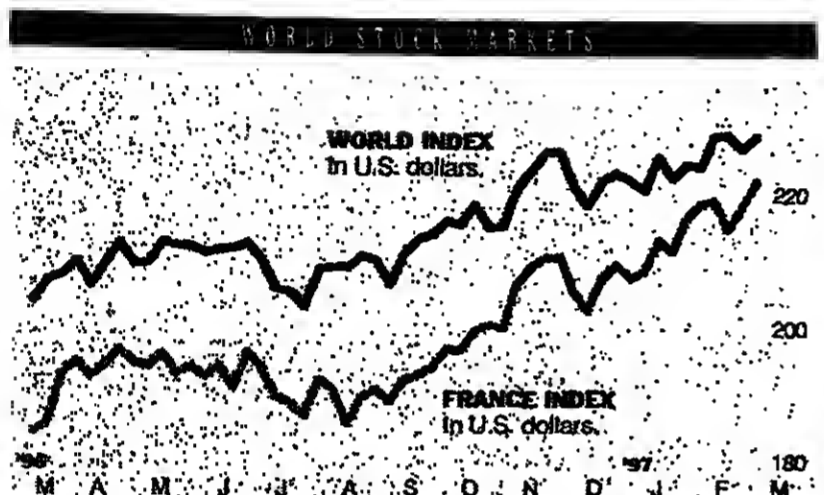
Late last month, the group signed a letter of intent with Sunbeam to buy the mill and was given exclusive rights to close the deal by later this month. Confidentiality agreements have kept all the principals and their agents from commenting on all aspects of the pact.

However, a Sunbeam official said the company was "confident" the sale to the workers could be achieved. John DeSimone, Sunbeam's director of investor relations, said Sunbeam had talked with other potential buyers, but that the Biddeford group "is our first choice of the organizations we would like to sell the company to."

Mr. DeSimone also said that Sunbeam was prepared to offer the worker group a five-year guaranteed supply contract. Sunbeam's agreement to buy all its electric-blanket shells from the Biddeford mill would give the factory a secure base for growth.

And growth seems possible for this mill, especially now that Sunbeam is the only producer of electric blankets in the United States. Though electric-blanket sales dipped in the early 1990's, corresponding with consumer concern about the possible link between cancer and the electromagnetic fields they generate, those fears have been allayed somewhat by a National Research Council study that found no evidence of such a hazard.

The Biddeford mill, meanwhile, has been modernized and it doubled production of electric-blanket shells from two million in 1990 to four million last year.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuarial World Indices, a measure of stock market performance.

Table with columns for Country, Index, Week % Chg, YTD % Chg, Rank, YTD Dividend, Yield, and YTD % Chg. Lists various countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, etc.

Table with columns for Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg, and Year Ago. Lists rates for Japanese yen, German marks, Canadian dollars, and U.S. dollars to the British pound.

March 3-7: Data on Strong Job Growth Push the Dow Over 7,000 Again

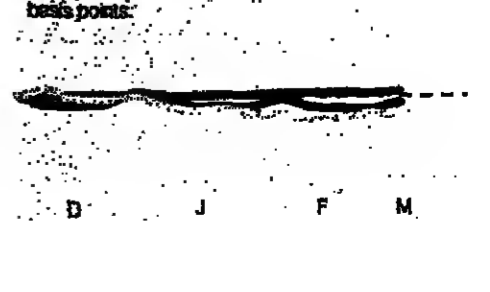
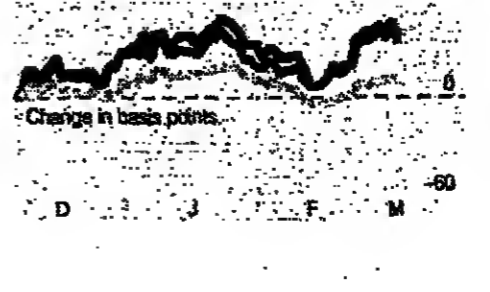
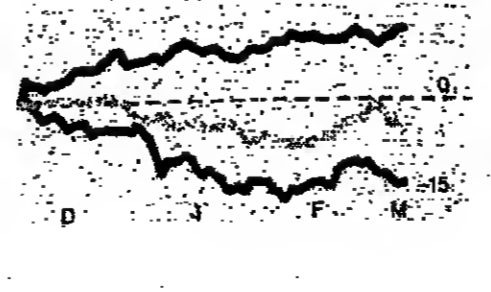
Table with columns for Domestic Equities, Broad market S. & P. 500 index, Blue chips Dow 30 industrials, Small capitalization Russell 2000 index, and their respective values and changes.

Table with columns for Domestic Bonds, Treasuries Ryan Labs. Total Return, Municipals Bond Buyer index, Corporates Merrill Lynch Master index, and their respective values and changes.

Table with columns for Around the World, European stocks, Asian stocks, Gold, and New York cash price, along with their respective values and changes.

Table with columns for Yields, Long bonds, 30-year Treasuries, Notes, 2-year Treasuries, Municipals, and Bond Buyer index, along with their respective yields and changes.

Table with columns for Other Investments, Money market funds, Taxable average, Rank C.D.'s, 1-year small savers, Stocks, and S. & P. 500 dividend yield, along with their respective values and changes.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

China Policy: Means and Ends

By Laura D'Andrea Tyson

RECENTLY, the media have been full of innuendo that the Clinton Administration's policies toward China have been influenced, if not bought outright, by Asian business contributions to the President's 1996 campaign. As one of the architects of those policies, I know firsthand that there is no basis for such allegations.

Our approach to China has been crafted by economic, national security and foreign policy experts from many Federal agencies who have debated options, sometimes heatedly, but always on their merits and always with the goal of serving American interests. Reasonable people can disagree about the effectiveness of the Administration's approach, but they should understand its overriding motivation and its underlying logic.

This approach starts with the simple notion that the United States is best served over the long run by China's stable evolution toward a more open, more democratic, more market-oriented system based on the rule of law. The logic of our policy also depends, however, on a realistic assessment of the means at our disposal. Critics of Administration policy too frequently overlook this distinction between means and ends.

Consider the Administration's often-criticized support for renewal of China's most-favored-nation trading status in each of the last four years. Some critics allege that the White House has sacrificed human rights goals for crass commercial ones. Others have gone even further and argued that the Administration's trade decisions have been bought by the lobbying efforts of American multinationals or of Asian business interests. Both accusations are wrong.

Improving human rights conditions in China is an essential part of our long-term goal. But the Administration's policy makers, supported by China experts at home and abroad, believe that withholding most-favored-nation status for China would not promote — and would even impede — our achieving this objective. Nothing in China's history or in the history of economic sanctions suggests that revoking the country's most-favored-nation trade status — which would amount to imposing unilateral economic sanctions on Chinese goods — would impel Beijing to ease its human rights stance. Nor have China's other trading partners been willing to join the United States in multilateral sanctions against the Chinese.

Certainly by withholding its most-favored-nation status, America could hurt China's economy, but it would undermine our long-run goal for at least two reasons.

First, it would cause a dramatic deterioration in our overall diplomatic relations with China and in our ability to negotiate on other important aspects of our relationship like nonproliferation.

Second, the bulk of American imports from China come not from its state-owned enterprises but from its private or quasi-private sectors, on whose health a developing Chinese middle class and China's continued evolution toward a more democratic system depends.

This is why many China experts believe that the best way to encourage reform and democratization is to strengthen China's trade and investment ties with the rest of the world, even though this approach may yield few if any short-run improvements in human rights.

Critics often point to the apparent anomaly between the Administration's willingness to threaten economic sanctions to encourage China's adherence to trade agreements and its unwillingness to withhold favorable trading status over human-rights violations. But a dispassionate assessment of means explains away this anomaly.

The threat of specific trade sanctions has proved effective in getting China (and many of our other trading partners) to stop violating trade agreements. Such sanctions can be fashioned to be commensurate with the economic costs that such violations have imposed on American businesses.

Consider the dispute over the protection of intellectual property. Precisely crafted sanctions encouraged

the Chinese that they are willing to meet the major conditions the Administration laid out in a blueprint several months ago.

This blueprint reflects a firm Administration resolve, shared by China's other trading partners, that China not be admitted unless it meets sound commercial conditions comparable to those met by other member countries. These conditions include commitments on improved access to China's market, greater openness in its trade and investment rules (including information on the extent of subsidies to China's state enterprises) and an end to requirements that foreign investors export the products they make in China.

As a member of the W.T.O., China would have the same responsibilities as its trading partners to honor the rules of international trade. This would curtail the power of its state decision-makers who resist opening markets, and it would strengthen the hand of economic reformers.

At the same time, we would have a powerful multilateral forum in which to resolve trade disputes with China, thereby reducing the pressure for high-stakes bilateral trade confrontations that threaten to destabilize the entire United States-China relationship.

In short, China's admission to the World Trade Organization — on commercially acceptable conditions — is probably our single most effective means of shaping a more open, market-oriented China.

Unfortunately, the recent accusations of an unholy connection between the Clinton Administration's China policy and Asian campaign contributions threaten to obscure this reality. Some members of Congress are now proposing further, unspecified conditions on China's admission to the W.T.O. as well as



Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

The Rubin Scenario

WASHINGTON The nation's capital is abuzz about "the Rubin scenario." It makes even the worst case rosy.

Say Clinton is taken down on a RICO count and Gore is embroiled in fundraising litigation. The notion that the second in constitutional line — Speaker Gingrich — should succeed to the Presidency would cause such a keening national wail that Newt would have to pass it up.

Next would be the President pro tempore of the Senate, but Strom Thurmond, 94, can't raise his hand to take the oath. All eyes would then swing to the Secretary of State to become our first woman President, right?

Nope. The Constitution also demands that the Chief Executive be "natural born" (denial of a right to eight million naturalized Americans that cries out for amendment) and Madeleine Albright was born overseas, she thinks. That passes the buck to Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, who for two years has been quietly running the Government while the Clintons were entertaining upstairs.

None of this wild conjecture, of course, will happen. Bill Clinton will stagger through his term. Why report "the Rubin scenario"? To show that although we may not have a lot of immediate bench strength, this superpower will remain stable — no matter how furiously the political winds howl.

And I confess that last fall, I didn't know the half of it. Back then, you read here that Webster Hubbell, the felonious friend of the Clintons at the heart of the Whitewater case, had been paid \$250,000 by the Lippo Group — perhaps to discourage him from spilling to the Independent Counsel, Jeff Gerth and Stephen Labaton of The New York Times have just revealed that the total take from Clinton friends by the disgraced Hubbell, on the brink of his guilty plea, was over \$400,000, with the Lippo Group in for about one-fourth.

Now we can guess why Richard Ben-Veniste, counsel to Democrats undermining the Senate's Whitewater investigation, objected so vociferously last summer to questions about Hubbell's providential clients and record rush of income.

That colloquy — unpublicized before the election — would have exposed the Asian Connection. Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey, on June 8, 1996, admitted learning of Hubbell's hiring by "the Riadys"; mentioned "a guy named John Huang" as if unaware of his huge fund-raising; and testified he

discussed Hubbell's financial difficulties with Marsha Scott, Mrs. Clinton's database keeper, "who is a personal friend of his and mine."

Nosy Parkers suspect Ms. Scott, who observed Hubbell's testimony from a skybox overlooking the hearing room, was a Clinton go-between in the alleviation of the Hubbell worries.

Hubbell's plea: I'm not Rapoport.

Clinton crony Truman Arnold, then about to become D.N.C. finance chairman and now a Ben-Veniste client, joined the Riadys in funding the plea bargainer; oilman Arnold persuaded contributor Bernard Rapoport right after his Lincoln bedroom overnight that "we need to help Web." Even Los Angeles taxpayers chipped in.

Web, lavishly helped, kept his lip zipped. The sleepyheads in Ken Starr's shop and the lethargic crew at Justice did not think to subpoena Lippo and other documents until months after "hush money" was discussed in the press. Only lately have prosecutors and investigators come to see the Asian and other Clinton money steered to Hubbell as the bridge linking the Whitewater scandal to the foreign penetration of the White House.

With justice delayed, truth may come from Congress. The Senate will bloom in May; though Fred Thompson is now the cynosure, Maine's freshman Senator, Susan Collins, will steal the show. House Intelligence — "Hipsi" to the trade — should bestir C.I.A. counterintelligence.

Follow the policy that followed Clinton friendships and donations. Silicon Graphics' Ed McCracken talked to friend Clinton about loosening strategic export restraints, and now the Russians at the Chelyabinsk-70 nuclear plant have a dangerous supercomputer. Right-wing overnighter Carl Lindner of United Fruit antes up \$415,000 and soon we'll hear about Bananagate.

Clinton and Gore — each with hand over heart as if to say "mot?" — claim they did nothing wrong and promise never to do it again. At F.B.I. headquarters, agents read the newspapers and watch NBC for clues. Small wonder a wild Rubin scenario is hushed about.

The Clinton strategy is based on principles, not politics.

The Chinese to respect the rule of law established in last year's bilateral agreement on intellectual property and in multilateral standards of copyright protection, without jeopardizing our ability to negotiate with China on other issues at the same time. By contrast, revoking most-favored-nation status would be a blunt instrument that would bring disproportionate harm to China's private ventures.

The most recent criticism of President Clinton's policy relates to the ongoing negotiations over China's admission to the World Trade Organization. The latest round of these negotiations concluded in Geneva last week amid promising signs from

Journal
FRANK RICH

Partial-Truth Abortion

The stakes for women.

In the 24 years since Roe v. Wade, American women have never been more in danger of losing their constitutional right to an abortion than they are this week — but so farcical, if far from funny, has been the debate surrounding "partial-birth abortions" that many Americans, Congressmen included, don't have a clue as to what is really going on.

Confusion, deliberate and not, has been sowed on both sides of the issue, with each new "controversy" making the truth murkier. The latest chapter is typical. A man named Ron Fitzsimmons — routinely described in the press as a "prominent" abortion-rights leader — announced that he had "lied" when he told Ted Koppel in 1995 that there were only 500 "partial-birth abortions" in America each year; he now says there are 5,000. But as Franklin Foer reports in Slate, Mr. Fitzsimmons is not prominent; his 1995 "lie," though filmed, never aired on "Nightline"; and "there is nothing new about what he 'revealed.'" That obscure journal The Washington Post suggested last fall that as many as several thousand of the procedures, known medically as intact dilation and extraction (IDE), may be performed each year. No reliable statistics exist.

The issue is not how many, in any event, but why any at all? Even if 10,000 such abortions occurred each year, that would still be a tiny minority of America's annual 1.5 million abortions. Why would any woman choose to have a fetus pulled out by a grotesque process that requires its skull to be crushed to pass through the cervix?

Opponents of "partial-birth abortion" say these women are in the final weeks or days of pregnancy — even "just seconds" away from delivery, as Jack Kemp put it during the campaign — when they whimsically opt for "infanticide." Not true; such a scenario is already illegal. Under Roe v. Wade, states can ban all abortions in the third trimester of pregnancy, except if the health or life of the mother is at stake, and 40 states and the District of Columbia have done so. Only some 600 abortions, no matter what the procedure, occur after the sixth month of pregnancy in the U.S. each year — all involving a tragically deformed fetus or a mother in peril.

That leaves the several thousand other cases; these occur earlier, before a fetus is viable — months, not days, before delivery. But why in a country where 99 percent of abortions occur in the first 20 weeks would a woman wait any longer to have an abortion, let alone one carried out this way? Pro-lifers say such women frivolously make their "elective" choice once they find they can't fit into a prom dress. Perhaps some do. But others who delay abortions well into the second trimester are poor or rural women who must save up to afford an abortion or a trip to a provider (84 percent of American counties don't

have one); scared women delayed by fear of harassment or violence at their local clinics; teen-age girls who are either in denial or traumatized by parental notification laws (especially if the parent is also the father) or fighting those laws clandestinely in slow court proceedings; women who disastrously develop prenatal diabetes, and women who learn from amniocentesis (a second-trimester test requiring a wait for results) of severe fetal anomalies.

Why would such women then choose intact dilation and extraction? They don't; their doctors do — when they feel it's the safest choice for their patient. By the second trimester, all abortion procedures are grotesque. The principal alternative to an IDE requires the fetus's dismemberment, and it, too, could be jeopardized by the broad language of Congress's "partial-birth" ban; what's now on the line is Roe v. Wade's protection of second-trimester abortions, period.

This is why pro-lifers are right to so strenuously champion the ban; it begins the end-run process of gutting Roe v. Wade a few procedures at a time, because those who believe life begins at conception can logically argue that most abortions are "partial-birth abortions." Politicians who purport to be "pro-choice" but vote for this bill, by contrast, are bigger liars than Mr. Fitzsimmons. The "partial-birth abortion" ban does not stamp out infanticide, which is already illegal, but cripples both a woman's right to choose and a doctor's duty to recommend the safest of the uniformly awful options for carrying out that anguished choice.

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MUSIC

An Orchestra Draws Music From the Stuff of Real Life

Far from bright lights and big money, an orchestra finds challenges and satisfactions.

By BERNARD HOLLAND

A CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa. LAN LAWRENCE, 40, plays the timpani in the Cedar Rapids Symphony, and not for a lot of money. Top players — and he leads his section — can expect \$85 each for five rehearsals, \$110 for the Saturday evening concert at the Paramount Theater that follows, and \$110 more for a repeat performance on Monday. For a lot of his colleagues, the numbers go from \$40 to \$60.

The orchestra plays seven pairs of subscription concerts a year, eight pops performances, three chamber and eight children's programs, and the occasional special event. You do the arithmetic; it doesn't add up to much.

From the offices of the Chicago Symphony or the New York Philharmonic, lives like these look small and far away; the rewards are pocket change next to big-city pay scales that approach \$85,000 a year for newcomers and twice that for principal musicians. From the streets of this modest Iowa city, on the other hand, it is we who appear vague, distant and perhaps irrelevant.

Mr. Lawrence's orchestra, 75 years old and one of up to 300 professional institutions in the United States, is actually somewhere in the middle of this hierarchy. It shares the turmoil and economic fears of its colleagues. It spends nowhere near the \$43 million the Boston Symphony needs each year, though with its \$1.4 million budget, it is more prosperous than neighbors who make do with a quarter of that amount.

Christian Tiemeyer is the orchestra's music director, and next to the better conductorial contracts in classical music, not for a lot of money either. Mr. Tiemeyer, 56, comes from Catonsville, Md., and studied the cello with Pablo Casals in Europe and Zara Nelsova at the Juilliard School.

Mr. Tiemeyer caught the conducting virus commonly known as "stick fever" at the Dallas Symphony, where he was principal cellist and eventually associate conductor. Later he played and conducted under Maurice Abravanel at the Utah Symphony. At one point in his career Mr. Tiemeyer was working 100 nights a year and doing it in a lot of different places. He has been in Cedar Rapids since 1982 and rarely stirs from home.

Jeff Smith, 35, is the board president of the orchestra and is about to turn the job over to James Hoffman, 43. Both men have gilt-edged futures in major corporations. Kathy Hall juggles the jobs of principal bassoonist and executive director with the dictates of a teen-age son. Her days and nights are long. If she (improbably) held those jobs in New York or Boston, her two salaries might approach a half-million dollars a year.

What are these people — indeed, what is an orchestra of such solid accomplishment — doing in a town like Cedar Rapids? Well, they are living their lives. Mr. Lawrence, the timpanist, is a little out of the ordinary in a community of 110,000 and an orchestra of 75 players. He is from Midland, Tex. A majority of his fellow musicians are Iowans or went to school here.

Ms. Hall, for example, who has an advanced degree in music and is highly thought of in both of her present jobs, comes from Donnellson, 100 miles south of here, where her father operated a feed and fertilizer business. Most orchestra managements would be horrified by the prospect of Ms. Hall's negotiating with herself at contract time, but Cedar Rapids is not New York or Boston.

Mr. Lawrence is also different in that he may be moving on. He takes auditions; the most recent was in San Antonio. On the other hand, after nine seasons he has abandoned apartment life and found a house to rent, has bought himself some modestly priced health insurance, works part-time as assistant manager for classical music in a record store and tries not to worry about retirement. Most of all, he teaches. It took him time, but he has come upon values here that he is starting to like and may not be as footloose as before.

Mr. Tiemeyer, in his former life, found himself with three small children and little time to give them. From Abravanel he learned the music director's loyalty to place, as opposed to the traveling conductor's yearning to be engaged and then re-engaged. Cedar Rapids offered him a full-time job and a home. His wife, Patti, a cellist, plays in the orchestra, too.

The president-elect, Mr. Hoffman, after a high-profile stint in Washington at the MCI Corporation, has come back home to Cedar Rapids and put his children in the city's

admired public school system. Iowa's fleeing population has reversed direction, and many of the newcomers are actually people who grew up here, left to make their fortunes and are returning to raise their children.

The Paramount Theater, where the orchestra plays, is one of those movie palace and vaudeville theater restorations found growing hopefully in downtown grids of troubled urban America. Nearby, the Cedar River runs through town. So does the Union Pacific Railroad, with its mournful horns sounding pleasantly from the tracks behind the Five Seasons Hotel.

The city's river, its tree-lined outer boulevards and the surrounding farmland promise pleasing green in another season, but downtown's dowdy 1920's office rectangles and glassy high-tech high-rises are bleak in winter. On a cold Monday evening, the Paramount marquee reads "Physicians for the Arts," acknowledging one of a number of coalitions in this city that help pay for concerts. Nine hundred ten people have come to hear Brahms and Beethoven. One thousand thirty-five heard the same program two days before, but the Monday concert has a few tricks up its sleeve.

Mr. Tiemeyer, microphone in hand, pitches his program with the fervor of an upscale car salesman. Video cameras trained on different parts of the orchestra show up-close the workings of music-making by way of screened projections on each side of the stage. On Monday, intermissions are usually done away with and the programs shortened, but the mighty Brahms B flat Piano Concerto and the Beethoven Seventh Symphony, on the program for this evening, demand a breather for all concerned.

Management is trying mightily to capture a new listenership, and the audience on Monday did have more than the usual share of young people. Why don't more come?

"A lot of people feel uncomfortable," said Mr. Smith, the president. "They don't know what to wear, when to clap. They are afraid of feeling out of place." Volunteers have formed a pre- and post-concert system of parties; a combination welcome wagon and singles bar for new people. Because many have no friends who come to concerts, a block of general-admission seats allows newcomers to pair off and sit with new-found acquaintances.

Cedar Rapids has advantages other places do not: a relatively stable society, established and generous companies like Quaker Oats, a growing high-tech industry that brings in young and educated employees, surrounding colleges and universities, and — wonder of wonders — a public school system that has not abandoned the arts.

Yet this is no Middle Western idyll of good will and plenty. The orchestra treads the same fragile, dangerous path as its colleagues large and small: with shrinking and aging audiences, higher costs, reduced government grants and competition for philanthropic gifts that are shifting everywhere in this country from arts to medical and humanitarian projects.

The parsimony runs across the board. The National Endowment for the Arts grant this year is \$12,500, down from \$18,000; the Iowa Arts Council grant is \$18,000, down from \$24,000, and the Iowa Community Cultural Grant is \$13,000, down from \$15,000. Corporate and private gifts run like a half-million dollars a year for a budget of \$1.4 million and an endowment of about the same amount.

Single-ticket sales, the backbone of popular-culture events here, have grown stubbornly but help to offset a gradual trickling away of subscriptions. Gifts are hard won.

"Every budget we make is an act of faith," said Ms. Hall, the executive director. "We don't know how many tickets we are going to sell or how much money people are actually going to give us." The orchestra earns only 38 percent of its income. (Forty percent is considered acceptable in this business.) But few cities of such modest population have an orchestra of this size and solidity.

In concert, the Cedar Rapids Symphony does not make a sound like say, the Philadelphia Orchestra, but it is not supposed to. What it does offer is tight, well-tuned ensemble, perfectly adequate principal players and sometimes very good ones, and a sound musical direction. (The elite rhythm of the Beethoven finale was correct and clear.) The Brahms concerto, at least as difficult, was made more difficult for the orchestra by Grant Johannessen's extreme slow tempos in the piano part. Brahms's exposed horn and cello parts were thoroughly professional and sometimes quite beautiful.

Where experienced players in major orchestras flirt with salaries of six figures, all the while complaining of artistic deprivations, this mix of old and young musicians plays with palpable delight. Some talked about their feelings the next day. They are wistful about money, they have the usual complaints about conductorial tyranny, but they love their jobs. They also seem to like where they live.



Upscale Salespeople Kathy Hall, executive director and principal bassoonist, and Christian Tiemeyer, music director of the orchestra.

Two contradictory impulses inform the life of this orchestra, and the combination is peculiarly American. One says that growth is good, that because this country began as a few people in a big place, survival still equals expansion. The second impulse is mistrust of central authority. In the pyramidal politics of Europe, absolute control was exercised from faraway capitals by the few over the many; those many being our ancestors. The American Revolution told central power to go away: "We can take care of ourselves; leave us alone." If the facts have changed, the impulse remains.

So Cedar Rapids measures bigness and movement against smallness and boundaries. Asked whether the orchestra's season might grow beyond its seven classical weekends, Mr. Smith said, "There is no reason for growth." In Cedar Rapids, survival equals enclosure: a finite audience served finitely. Growth of another kind, however, is inner necessity. At a loss to pay its musicians much more money, the orchestra board must find them more work, more students to teach, more run-outs to rural communities, more festivals, fairs and special events. Idealistic as these musicians appear to be, they have pushed for more money and are settling, if only for a 2.5 percent raise in their present per-service contract. The president-elect, Mr. Hoffman, says he does not know how he can pay much more and at the same time keep up with the orchestra's bills.

Without students to teach, most members of the Cedar Rapids Symphony could not live. For Mr. Lawrence there is Coe College in town; for others, Cornell College, 20 miles away. Wayne Thelander, a bass player in the orchestra and an employee of the public schools, could be found one recent morning rehearsing a string ensemble of 14-year-olds for a communal citywide concert.

The more common outlet for player-teachers is the Symphony School, founded 10 years ago and run by Stephanie Wagar. It is an unusual coalition between schools and the symphony by which two independent parties — each with its own agenda, its own shortcomings and its own needs — contractually agree to exchange services. An intensive third-grade string program in the schools has become as much a part of schoolwork as multiplication tables. Students get vouchers for concert tickets. Symphony musicians teach classes and after-school private lessons. Jocelyn Langworthy, the recently hired principal clarinetist, says she already has 40 pupils a week.

Two doctors play in the Cedar Rapids Symphony, along with an engineer, some school teachers, many freelance professionals and professors and graduate students from nearby universities and colleges. The principal flutist, Jane Walker, is a 25-year member. She and her husband operate a music store specializing in woodwind and brass repertoire in nearby Iowa City. Blanche Lawrence has played in the violin section since 1931, when she was 14. Ms. Lawrence can remember a time in the orchestra's 75-year history when a fall concert would feature the first two movements of a symphony;

and the spring concert the third and fourth.

The parents of William Preucil, the concertmaster of the Cleveland Orchestra, have been longtime members. There are more and more young players on the move and passing through, happy for employment. So hair-raising is the competition for orchestra jobs nationally that recent auditions for principal clarinetist

attracted candidates from music schools as lofty as Yale's.

A lot of this clarinetist's Yale classmates probably never heard of the Cedar Rapids Symphony, and those who have probably do not include it in their daydreams of success. If so, these calm farmland people of eastern Iowa don't seem to care. Their orchestra has neither record labels nor Carnegie Hall on

its mind. Its musicians live in a place, and they are about that place. Prosperity lies not over the next mountain but next door.

"New York has no more relevance for Cedar Rapids, Iowa, than Cedar Rapids has for New York," said Mr. Tiemeyer over dinner one evening. "Each life is important, and Cedar Rapids is our life. This is real for us."

MONTHLY MEETINGS

BY JUNE BOGGS / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

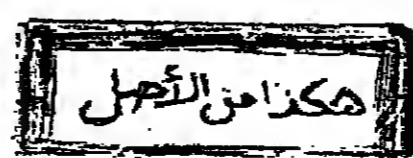
- Sponge
- Iconoclastic comedian
- South Africa's first P.M.
- Sap
- Think a lot of
- Ensemble part
- Commandment subjects
- Pineapple island
- Sailor's cry
- Continue to the end
- Stuffing seasoning
- Clear
- 1932 skiing gold medalist Unterstrom
- Agamemnon's sister-in-law
- Dog on "Frasier"
- Heirless, maybe
- Subject of monthly reading
- Indy racer Guthrie
- Monitor
- Flushing stadium
- 1954 SAC chief and family
- Downyflake rival
- Put on a show
- Virus type
- Part of the Winnebago nation
- Less ruddy
- Dress ruddy
- New York nosh
- Trembling
- Hydrocarbon suffixes
- Class division
- Sandhurst send-offs
- Earned a citation?
- Barber of renown
- Lure of New Orleans
- Churchill Downs drink
- "We Do Our Part" org.
- Parsley's pungent relative
- Where Mochais
- Hardly enthusiastic carnivore
- Concerns
- Pluck
- Dessert wine
- Part of "the works"
- Women's casual
- G.I.'s suppliers
- Truth, to Trotsky
- Senator succeeded by Cleveland
- Liturgy
- 8-Dow's sound
- Beauts
- Sound of reproach
- Deposit
- Guard of myth
- End of fooling
- Plus
- Blue-green
- Not yet scheduled
- Head for the ranch?
- Playing Our Song (1979 song)
- Calx components
- Pizarro's capital

DOWN

- Like some skis
- Allan
- Single-named 60's singer
- Zane and Lady Jane
- A Saarin
- Reassure
- Former org. of the Pacers and the Spurs
- Guffaw
- Mother of 41-Across
- "Phoosy!"
- It circles Uranus
- Morrison and others
- Lunch counter request
- Start of a Faulkner title
- TV family name
- "Dallas" co-star
- Kind of suit
- Heavenly gift
- Site of a famous campanile
- Some are restricted
- Western copper center
- Ferriah
- Place to put a tiger?
- Bridge, St. Louis
- La Méditerranée, e.g.
- Parts of pedigrees
- And the following:
- Fine fur
- Mickey
- Spoils, with "on"
- "What's with —?"
- CH
- Hebbie-jebbies
- The Rome of Hungary
- Loyalist
- Westernizer of Russia
- Became unglued
- Leaf gatherer
- Make squiggles
- Tunnel traveler
- Founder of New York's Public Theater
- Claustrophobe's nightmare, for short
- Tense
- Cartesian conclusion
- Gone
- Monk, maybe
- Branched
- Motor oil additives
- Prized game fish
- Reason for an R rating
- Addams portrayal, in film
- Produced no more
- Some are restricted
- Hawk
- Crow's home
- Deli necessity
- Lab specimens
- Principle
- The good computer screens, informally
- Great Western
- Forum player
- Witty aloof duelist
- Prides of Libya
- Existential woe
- Last item
- Wood spruce
- Graft recipient
- Bing Crosby's record label
- Org. founded in 1970
- Interim rulers

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SUCCESS SNEAKS ALIVE
 ISHRELI COMPUTED BATTLE
 FELICITATEAQUICLOROCKS
 TITUBENY NEEDA SILENT
 SPEAK DEFEND CUBES
 NITE
 WRENTINSEXTYFOUR JETT
 YAO SPEEDY EDSWA
 ELR KOREA UALC LUCUR
 ALE UPS OIMOSA VERBA
 BARE PORTYNNERS JACK
 GENEZ REAREO WEL SWL
 ASHANT GOWLES ENG
 URO ONEAREDEDBA SERS
 REV EDDI DAD SETH
 ERE EBS CONTRA WACHT
 AERIAL DOTH ALBE NOI
 TWENTYFIVEDDPRR FOUR
 WASTE OVELOAP ECSTASE
 ELTON BASSSETS GREENS



Iranian exiles prepare to overthrow ayatollah

Dozens of men and women in smart olive-green military uniforms end their day at Camp Ashraf with a unified shout: "When the command comes, we will not hesitate!"

The camp is in Iraq, but the words are in the Iranian language, Farsi, and the order they await is to march on Teheran.

Camp Ashraf is one of five bases maintained in Iraq by the National Liberation Army, a force of 30,000 Iranians committed to wresting control of their homeland from the Islamic clerics who have ruled since 1979.

The fighters are equipped with tanks and heavy artillery. At least a third are women. They accuse Iran's "mullahs' regime" of denying democracy, repressing women and carrying out a savage campaign against all political opposition.

"For our people, I joined the National Liberation Army to help overthrow the regime," said Batul Ibrahim, an 18-year-old woman who crossed from Iran on foot last year. "We are willing to die for our freedom."

Such words are echoed throughout the ranks at Camp Ashraf, a heavily guarded compound about 110 kilometers northeast of Baghdad and just 90 kilometers from the Iranian border.

The National Liberation Army was formed in Iraq a decade ago by Massoud and Maryam Rajavi, long-time leaders of the Mujahideen Khalq, or People's Warriors.

The group first opposed the shah's rule in Iran, then that of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini after the Islamic revolution.

In a 1994 report, the US State Department characterized the

Mujahideen as a cult of the Rajavis that employs terrorism not unlike the mullahs and has little real support within Iran. The US-based group Human Rights Watch has accused the Mujahideen of torturing members who tried to quit.

Labib Kamhawi, a professor of political science at Jordan University who has studied regional opposition movements, predicts the regime in Teheran will be changed from inside Iran, not outside. He calls the exile army "insignificant" compared with Iran's 500,000-man military. And, he adds: "Once the Mujahideen took refuge in Iraq, they lost their credibility inside Iran."

The Rajavis and their followers dismiss this criticism as "Iranian propaganda."

The liberation army, they argue, gets its legitimacy from being the military wing of the National Council of Resistance of Iran, a Paris-based government-in-exile which meets twice a year, in Paris and Baghdad.

Its council's "charter of fundamental freedoms" calls for free and fair elections, religious and ethnic tolerance and women's rights, once Iran's government is ousted.

Iran's government paints the exile army as a tool of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. But the Iranian opposition leaders say their financial support comes from the four million Iranians in exile and donations sneaked out of Iran.

Rajavi, 49, is commander of the exile army. His wife, Maryam, 43, resigned as deputy commander in 1993 when she was elected by the council to be "transitional presi-

dent" of Iran once the mullahs are overthrown.

Soft-spoken and dressed in an elegant pink wool suit with a gray headscarf, she spoke passionately about the Teheran regime, blaming it for the deaths of 100,000 Iranians in its quest to put down dissent. The victims includes one of her sisters, Maasomeh; one of her husband's brothers, Kazem; and her husband's first wife, Ashraf, after whom the training camp here is named.

At Camp Ashraf, the Rajavis' photographs hang prominently in mess halls, parade grounds and barracks, and soldiers in interviews rarely missed a chance to invoke their names in almost worshipful terms. Women commandos wound up a training exercise with Kalashnikovs and fake grenades by breaking into chants of "Iran! Rajavi! Iran! Rajavi!" Soldiers practicing rope jumps from a high platform began with the cry: "Maryam, our shining star, we will take you to Teheran."

Women soldiers on duty dress according to conservative Iranian tradition, but off duty, many shed their head cover. They train with the men, but live in segregated barracks.

Mahbubeh Jamshidi, an officer in the exile army, says women were given important roles in the Mujahideen to contrast pointedly with the increasing strictures on women under the Teheran regime. "I want the women and the men to be free," she said. "And I believe the key to the liberation of our country is held in the hands of this organization under the leadership of Massoud and Maryam Rajavi." Jamshidi serves on a 25-woman council that advises Rajavi. "We have never lost for one day



Women make up a third of the Iranian fighting forces training to topple the mullahs' regime at camps in Iraq. (AP)

the burning hope that we will return to our country," Rajavi said. "This is the fire inside each of us that keeps us going." The exile army has won two

large-scale battles with Iranian troops. In 1988, it stormed an Iranian army camp in the border town of Mehran, coming back to Iraq with

hundreds of tanks, armored vehicles, howitzers and anti-aircraft guns. It used that armor in 1991 to fight off an attack inside Iraq by

the Iranian Revolutionary Guards. Some Iranian soldiers taken prisoner in those battles refused repatriation and instead joined the exile army. (AP)

EARTHLY CONCERNS

Hidden death traps

By DVORA BEN SHAUL

According to estimates by the International Red Cross, there are about 100 million land mines planted across the globe, many of them buried decades after the hostilities in those areas have ceased. In the past 20 years, about one million people have been maimed or killed by mines left over from previous wars.

According to the IRC, it would take 30 years to detect and destroy all the left-over land mines strewn throughout the Afghanistan countryside by the Soviet Union and the opposing rebel forces. Dozens of people are killed or lose limbs every year from these mines. In addition, livestock grazing in these areas are also victims.

In Korea, more than 40 years after the war, mines still kill or maim more than 1,000 people a year. In Cambodia it is estimated that there are 10 million mines left over from the conflicts.

In recent years, the United States has sent teams of demolition experts to Cambodia to train local sappers in the detection and removal of land mines. Neither the instructors or the students who risk their lives in this task were even born when the mines were planted. Nor were most of the potential victims of this grim and deadly legacy.

Millions of mines still lie hidden in Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Somalia, Sudan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Israel and Egypt as well as dozens

of other places including many spots in Europe where mines left over from World War II still take their deadly toll.

But even as efforts are being made to locate and dismantle these hidden death traps in many places, new mine fields are being laid down today in other spots. Tens of thousands are being laid every week in former Yugoslavia, in areas of the breakaway republics of the former Soviet Union, in Rwanda, along the borders of Tanzania and again in the jungles of South America and some other places in Africa.

Because of the long active life of these booby traps, the difficulty and danger of locating and dismantling them once conflict has ended and the frightful toll these mines take, the IRC has repeatedly tried to get land mines declared illegal. But so far to no avail.

The land mine is cheap to produce, easy to deploy and highly effective, and it is doubtful that any nation with a standing army would opt out of the possibility of continuing to use this weapon.

Even so, each time the subject is placed on the agenda, there are a few more votes in favor of outlawing land mines, which causes some activists to be optimistic in believing that eventually the land mine, like poison gas and bacterial warfare, will be rejected by the civilized nations of the world and, like these other outlawed methods of warfare, they will be used, if at all, only by outlaw nations.

Peacemakers or "agents of Satan"?

The Arab media have used both terms to describe the Egyptian and Jordanian intellectuals who took part in a conference last month aimed at creating an Arab-Israeli peace alliance. The Copenhagen conference brought together 70 prominent figures from Egypt, Jordan and Israel.

This act of dialogue should not have been earth-shattering for Arab intellectuals - whose governments have peace treaties with Israel. For Egyptian intellectuals, however, the event was viewed at home as traumatic.

In a departure from the often Arctic peace that has existed for almost two decades, the conference included dialogue between private citizens - something that could be regarded as normalization.

In contrast to Egypt, writers in the Jordanian press were largely complimentary about the dialogue.

In the Jordanian daily *Al-Rai*, Zeid Hanizeh wrote that the Arab-Israeli conflict has cost hundreds of billions of dollars in arms and therefore everything must be done to stop this waste so that people can benefit from economic development.

Expressing the opposing view was Saed Abu Meizar, who is the head of the Council of Professional Associations in Jordan. Writing in the *Al-Dastour* daily, Abu Meizar charged that Arabs who participated in the Copenhagen meeting should be condemned for giving their imprimatur in recognizing the status quo imposed by "Israel and the world Zionist organizations."

Nonetheless, the debate has been most vociferous in Egypt where intellectuals - due to either Nasserist, communist, or Islamic leanings - have largely been spearheading the anti-normalization effort.

Is it time to talk yet?

A meeting of leading Arab intellectuals and their Israeli counterparts has sparked a vociferous debate in Jordan and Egypt. David Makovsky reports

Some of those participating have been denounced in Egypt's pro-government and opposition press as "agents of Satan," despite the prominence of the Egyptian participants who included leading writer Lutfi el-Kholi, director of the *Al-Ahram* Center for Political and Strategic Studies Abdel-Munim Said and leading philosopher Murad Wahba.

Some of those participating in the dialogue with Israel have been denounced as 'agents of Satan' in the Egyptian press.

In the last few weeks the conference was denounced by the Egyptian Writers Union, the Egyptian Intellectuals Association, the Egyptian Committee for Resisting Normalization, the Committee for the Defense of National Culture, and the Arab Artists Union.

While some Arabs went so far as to question the patriotism of those who participated, others opposed the meeting on tactical grounds, saying that the shift from opposition to cooperation is too abrupt.

Al-Ahram writer Mohammed Sid-Ahmed does not oppose the principle of holding a dialogic with peace-minded Israelis in order to help free Israel of the

trauma of the Holocaust and convince Israelis that Arabs care about their security.

He argues, however, that a prerequisite to this is an internal Arab dialogue that would minimize splits in the ranks. "We cannot shift from total boycott to total alliance," he argues.

However, Sid-Ahmed does not address

El-Kholi said, "we are creating a new political reality and not just sitting on the sidelines issuing reactionary statements of denial."

Abdel-Munim Said asked in *Al-Ahram* recently: "Is it sufficient to issue statements and pronounce slogans and then return to our homes content that we have fulfilled our duty and liberated Palestine over the microphone?"

"Should we pawn the future of our national development and of our children against idle statements, none of which have proven themselves true over five decades?"

Some critics in the Egyptian press have linked support for dialogue with Israel to a broader critique of Egyptian society, namely that it must dwell less upon the past and more upon the future. While derisively calling this idea "the end of history," these critics charge proponents with being overly pragmatic.

They say the genuine agenda of those favoring dialogue with Israel is "technocracy," namely recognizing how far the Arabs have fallen behind the West and narrowing this gap by absorbing Western technological assistance.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa, the most hard line member of the Egyptian establishment, gave his blessing to the conference when contacted by Israeli delegate David Kimche, the former Director General of the Foreign Ministry.

Moussa attacked critics of the conference, saying they were not serious about peace.

Amid all the controversy, it seems to have escaped Egyptian notice that even Palestinian opponents of Oslo participated in Copenhagen, among them: Hamas's Sheikh Jamil Hamami, and Riyadh Malki, a key member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Minimum LOTTO 1st prize - tomorrow

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Mifal Hapayis

CRITIC'S CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

The Israel Sinfonietta Beersheba presents an evening of Slavic opera highlights with Uri Mayer conducting selections from The Bartered Bride...

OPERA

HELEN KAYE

There are two more chances to see the New Israeli Opera production of Cavalleria Rusticana and Pagliacci...

LECTURE

HELEN KAYE

Switzerland is on the international hot seat so it'll probably be interesting to hear Swiss Ambassador Pierre Monod talking on "Israel and Switzerland: Current Relations/Future Prospects"...

TELEVISION

ELANA CHIPMAN

Only days after International Women's Day celebrated how far women have progressed from just being objects tied to the kitchen sink...



Barbara Hershey plays the enigmatic Madame Merle in "The Portrait of a Lady."

ing the glamor world. Tonight on ETV 2, in the documentary Situation slot, at 10.30.

FILM

ADINA HOFFMAN

*** THE PORTRAIT OF A LADY *** If you survive the awful opening credits and confusing start of the story with your patience intact, you'll be treated to a genuine surprise: a dynamic screen version of the Henry James novel...

TV

- CHANNEL 1: 6:30 News flash, 6:31 News in Arabic, 6:45 Exercise Time, 7:00 Good Morning, Israel...

- CHANNEL 2: 6:15 Today's Programs, 6:30 Sharkey and George, 7:00 Breakfast Magazine...

- CHANNEL 3: 15:30 Motomica from Mars, 15:35 Body, 16:00 Dubble - live TV game...

- CHANNEL 4: 11:30 Story of Boys and Girls (Italian, 1991) - slice of Italian pre-WWII life...

- CHANNEL 5: 6:30 Bodies in Motion, 6:30 Bodies in Motion, 6:30 National League Soccer...

- JORDAN TV: 14:00 Holy Koran, 14:00 The Filastines, 14:00 Captain Pinast, 15:00 French programs...

- JERUSALEM CINEMATHEQUE: The Eighth Day, 8:30 * The Red 7:15, 7:45, 10:15, 10:45...

- JERUSALEM THEATRE: 20:00 Jezus St. 5610011 Breaking the Waves 8:30 * Portrait of a Lady 8:30 RAV CHEN 1-7...

- TEL AVIV: 19:00 The Third Hour - non-marginal program, 10:00 Pablo, 11:00 A Man of the People...

- JERUSALEM: 19:00 Holy Koran, 14:00 The Filastines, 14:00 Captain Pinast, 15:00 French programs...

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PRIME TIME TV

Table with columns for News, Sports, Movies, and other categories, listing programs like 'The Bottle', 'The Shakers', 'The Death of Hugo', etc.

Things 15:15 Pink Panther Show, 15:30 Ocean Girl, 16:15 The Center of Gravity...

22:00 Gods of the Plague (German, 1970) general movie by Rainer Werner Fassbinder...

6:00 Anne Wilton's Look and Cook, 6:30 Video Fashion, 7:30 Kate and Alie...

6:00 Open University: Nonverbals; Marketing; Hidden Resources, 12:00 Defenders of the Wild Ocean...

6:30 Bodies in Motion, 6:30 Bodies in Motion, 6:30 National League Soccer...

6:00 Frost's Century, 7:00 The Best of The Ticket, 7:30 Travel Xpress...

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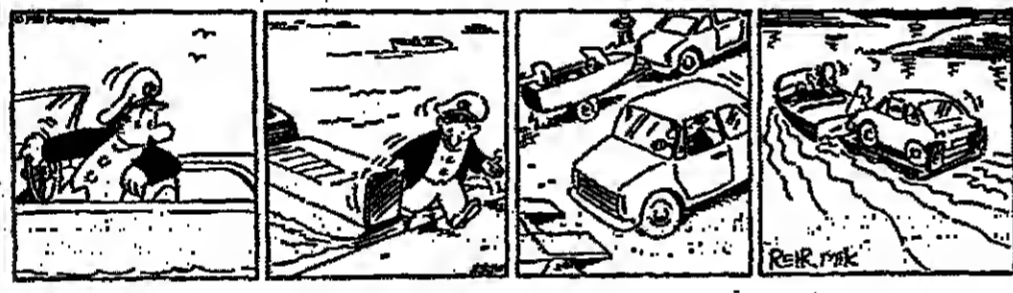
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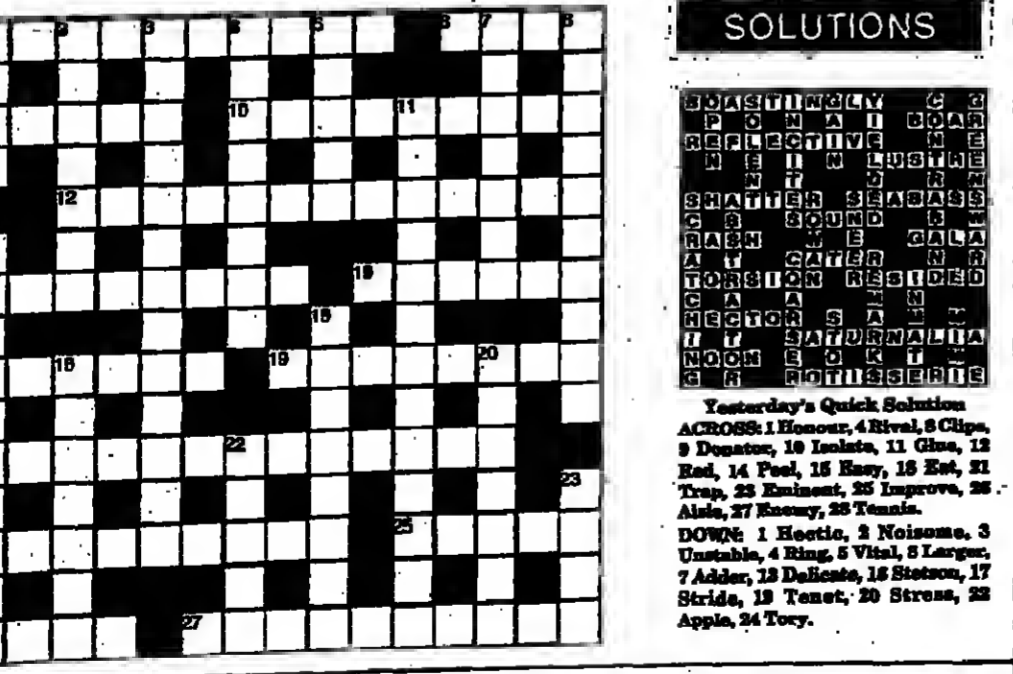
6:00 Frost's Century, 7:00 The Best of The Ticket, 7:30 Travel Xpress...

6:30 Bodies in Motion, 6:30 Bodies in Motion, 6:30 National League Soccer...

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD



ACROSS: 1 To express in other words might appear rash (10), 6 Dog in a narrow escape kennelled (4), 9 Accountant and graduate left small party (5)...



QUICK CROSSWORD: ACROSS: 1 Rotate (4), 4 Brawls (7), 8 Synthetic (8), 9 Jolt (3), 11 Thin (6), 13 Soaked (6), 14 Tied (5), 15 Great quantity (4), 17 Yes (colloq) (4), 18 Blunt (5), 20 Motor-bout (6), 21 Gloomy (6), 24 By this time (3), 26 Recur (8), 28 Hard-wearing (7), 27 Pity (4)...

SOLUTIONS

JERUSALEM CINEMATHEQUE: The Eighth Day, 8:30 * The Red 7:15, 7:45, 10:15, 10:45...

MOVIES

Star Trek: The Motion Picture, 10:00 European, 10:00 European, 10:00 European...

NEWS

in brief

Prisons Service appointment stirs controversy

Yesterday's ceremony... Yossi Pollack... Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani...



Yossi Pollack (Isaac Harari) Itim

Rabbinate steps up kashrut enforcement

Some 1,800 violations... Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau... Haim Shapiro

Psychologists protest ERAN budget cuts

Senior psychologists... ERAN (Emotional First Aid)... Judy Siegel

Conservationists protest project off Bat Galim

Conservationists staged a protest... Bat Galim district... David Rudge

Ministry halts misleading Cellcom ad

Following consumer complaints... Miron Cohen... Judy Siegel

Winning cards

The winning cards in yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance draw...

Youth confesses to burning woman to death

A Lod youth yesterday confessed... Zarfati... (Itim)

David Levy questioned as Bar-On probe continues

By BATSHEVA TSUR and Jerusalem Post Staff

The investigation into the Bar-On Affair... State Attorney Edna Arbel... Foreign Minister David Levy...

BAR-ON

At this point, there are reported to be differences of opinion between the police and the State Attorney's Office...



Planting Zionist roots

Nati Takuro of the Japanese Makuya, a pro-Israel Christian denomination, plants one of 92 saplings honoring sect members yesterday at a JNF planting center in Jerusalem. (Joe Makohn)

Israeli think tank proposes way to end Peruvian hostage crisis

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Peruvian officials are seriously considering a proposal by an Israeli counter-terrorism think tank... The leftist Tupac Amaru rebels are holding 72

hostages in the residence of the Japanese ambassador in Lima... Japan, meanwhile, said that a quick-fix solution to the crisis was remote.

problematic," from a legal standpoint... PM to tackle overcrowded hospitals

PM to tackle overcrowded hospitals

By JUDY SIEGEL

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is due to meet today with Finance Minister Dan Meridor and Health Minister Yehoshua Matza to discuss the overcrowding in public hospitals... Disabled say more awareness needed

Disabled say more awareness needed

By ESTHER HECHT

Doron Yehuda rolled in late for the press conference yesterday... Disabled say more awareness needed

WEATHER section with map of Israel and weather data for various cities.

AROUND THE WORLD

Table with columns for location, low, high, and weather conditions for various international cities.

Advertisement for ELDan cellular phones, including pricing and contact information.

Advertisement for 'BOOK IT!' featuring The Jerusalem Post Funds Pessah Handicrafts Fair at Ra'anana Sports Hall.

Advertisement for apartments in Ramat Beit Shemesh, highlighting best offers and prices.

Advertisement for Health & Beauty Supplement, published in City Lights on March 28, 1997.

Advertisement for B'kehila magazine, the first English-language national Jewish observant public.

Advertisement for Positive Health Weekend: 3 Day Seminar on Complementary Medicine, including dates and prices.

